

INSIDE: A STORM ON THE ENERGY FRONTIER

Maclean's

JULY 7, 1986

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

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JULY 5, 1986 VOL. 86 NO. 27



Recess from reversals
As Parliament recovered from the annual two-month summer vacation, the Mulroney government was faced with another defeat in an opinion poll. —*Page 21*



A gathering storm offshore
Faced with disastrously low oil prices, petroleum companies are threatening to delay their frontier exploration projects unless Ottawa provides more money. —*Page 32*

COVER

Pride and patriotism

Americans celebrate Independence Day this week with the unfurling of the restored Statue of Liberty in New York harbor. Canadians toast their nation's 118th birthday with slightly more reserve, but residents on both sides of the 49th parallel will have their patriotism on display. —*Page 19*

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Round one to the President
In a dramatic reversal, the U.S. House of Representatives last week approved Ronald Reagan's controversial \$100-million aid package to Nicaraguan rebels. —*Page 26*



Tigress of the Nile
Vivien Redgrave, alternating lead roles in Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra* and *The Taming of the Shrew*, is getting rave reviews from London critics. —*Page 46*

LETTERS

Schools for talent

While I certainly appreciate the talent of all the artists included in your survey of Canadian comedy ("From gags to riches," Cover, June 3), I find the side-splitting of Lorne Michaels and David Letterman to be self-aggrandizing. They can now safely assert that the issue of staging in Canada is irrelevant (*Michaels*) or that Canadian nationalism is not to be taken seriously (*Letterman*). But the fact is that without Canadian television there would be no CBC or National Film Board—organizations that helped Michaels and Letterman to develop their talents. It is precisely because of Canadian nationalists that they have enjoyed such success.

—ROB HARRISON,
Managing



Michaels' no need for nationalism

The banks and the bailout

Peter C. Newman's May 26 column ("The folks who rose to chairman," *Business Watch*) refers to the participation of the Royal Bank of Canada in the efforts last year to save the Canadian Commercial Bank from collapse. The column describes me as being "particularly bitter about the \$85.6 million the Royal put into the bailout package which Ottawa now refuses to repay, although he claims he gets the pleasure to refund it in writing." That is a misunderstanding of what I told Newman. As the CEO I had, according to the original \$85-million support agreement, the banks could have equal standing with CCP's depositors in their claim against the assets. That is what was in writing. When the CCP was eventually declared insolvent, the federal government negotiated that all CCP's deposi-

tors would get 100 per cent of their money back from the government of Canada. At the time, Minister of State for Finance Barbara McDougall and I met that the banks in the original support group would also get their money back, and authorized me to go inform the other bankers I did not receive this understanding in writing, and it was subsequently withdrawn. Then, while the support-group banks stood equally with depositors in their claim against CCP's assets, it seemed that being repaid with depositors is not the same as being a depositor when it comes to repayment from the government of Canada.

—ALLAN TAYLOR,
Chairman and Chief Executive Officer,
Royal Bank of Canada,
Toronto

Denying militancy

The article "A troubled community" (Canada/Cover, June 28) purports to teach us about anti-government extremism. The International Sikh Youth Federation is a militant religious group that continues to protest the Indian government's 800-kilometre-long canal project worldwide. The membership of the ISYF stands at 20,000 and not the 350-person figure quoted in the article. The Sikh temples have not been taken over by our organization. It is the will of the community which has selected our members to organize the temples. Finally, the polarization my home town has a needless issue. All goes taken from my home were legally registered hunting weapons which were returned with due respect.

—MANVIR SINGH,
Spokesperson,
International Sikh Youth Federation,
Burnaby, B.C.

PASSAGES

RETIREMENT: Jean Drapéau, 73, from his post as mayor of Montreal, a job he held for all but three of the past 32 years—making him the longest-serving mayor of any large North American city. A weeping Drapéau announced last week that he will not run in the Nov. 1 election because of failing health, confounding speculation that began last December when he suffered a fractured vertebra in a fall that sidelined him for weeks. In 1982 he broke a hip and suffered a stroke. An antiseptic figure with a flair for the dramatic, Drapéau was the driving force behind such world-class events as Expo 67 and the 1976 Summer Olympics as well as municipal achievements such as Montreal's subway system, the major-league baseball team and Place des Arts. While his dedicated supporters said his grandiose schemes, Drapéau defended approaches with his high-handed methods and extravagant ways. In a now-familiar statement before Drapéau, Drapéau said: "The Olympics can never have a deficit than a sum we can have a baby." But Drapéau's associate Gerald Snyder declined last week, "He will be remembered as our greatest mayor."

DEATH: Liberal William Taylor, 86, an MP for 19 years and a senator for 21, in Brampton, Ont. First elected in 1958, Taylor served as government whip for Prime Minister MacKenzie King from 1949 to 1951, when he accepted a Senate post. He retired at 76 in 1968.

WIN: By movie star Raquel Welch, 43, an \$18.5-million judgment in her lawsuit against the film studio Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer (MGM) over her firing from the movie *Grease*. An action that she claimed ruined her career, in Los Angeles. The actress had sued for \$80 million, contending that former execs David Begelman, producer Howard Phillips and director David Ward conspired to fire her from the film after she replaced her with Debra Winger. The 1960 movie, based on John Stilaback's novel and starring Winger and Nick Nolte, failed at the box office.

MARRIAGE: Actor Stacy Keach, 44, the star of TV's *Shelley Winters' Mike Hammer*, who last year spent six months in a British prison for smuggling cocaine, to Polish actress Malgorzata Tuszynski in Los Angeles.

DEED: Lt.-Col. D.W. Corrie, 73, sergeant-at-arms in the House of Commons for 17 years and known in the general public as the man who carried the mace at the opening of duly sessions of Parliament, of a heart attack, in Ottawa.

Living on tobacco

Your article "The new opposition to public smoking" (Cover, June 3) left me cold. The salient statement of antismoking activist Judy Hancock ("What I hear that tobacco farmers are saying, I don't feel sorry for them") encapsulates the cold, clinical attitude displayed toward a group of hardworking, tax-paying people who have suddenly lost control of their lives. Why don't you report on this side of the story? Your article allowed only one paragraph for Justice Hugh Simmer's thoughts. Where are the pictures and words describing the feelings of despair and anguish that are felt here in Delta?

—PAULINE LABOL,
Delta, B.C.

Preconceived notions

As I read "The bad times of the land" (Canada/Special Report, June 21) and in particular your report on Billecart-Salmon, I got the distinct feeling that the article was prewritten before any research was ever done. I was interviewed by your correspondent and I felt during our conversation that I was not supplying the answers he wanted. In the article, all optimistic comments are manipulatively absent. Poor commodity prices will affect everyone in Western Canada, but to label Kilkenny a stagnation town is a good example of biased journalism.

—JOHN JONES,
Kilkenny, Man.

Wrestling with popularity

In reference to a few disgruntled readers (Letters, June 28) who were disappointed with "The Hard Sell" (Cover, May 15), let me tell you that, as a subscriber to *Wrestling*, I loved the feature on pro wrestling. Sure, it's America, but at least I have to buy a "wrestling mag" to hear about Hulk Hogan and his fellow heroes. Just about everyone I know is "mad" about wrestling, so keep up the good work.

—ANDREW LINDSEY,
Windsor, Ont.

Needing the facts on toxic waste

Thank you for your excellent coverage of what is surely, next to nuclear war, the greatest threat to man's long-term survival—toxic waste ("It's deadly place," Special Report, May 26). I was shocked to read how Canada lags far behind other countries in terms of using available technology to confront the problem, and deeply disturbed to learn how the government suppressed information regarding the contamination of food when Environment Canada banned Doug Hallert from making that knowledge public.

—ALICE WATKINS,
Fin. Fin., Mississauga, Ont.



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FOLLOW-UP

A hijacking trauma

A full year after the ordeal, US Navy diver Clinton Suggs remains deeply disturbed by his encounter with terrorism. On June 14, 1986, Suggs and 182 passengers aboard Pan American Flight 847 landed off from Athens International Airport. What was to have been a routine flight to Rome suddenly turned into a 15-hour nightmare when two Palestinian gunmen seized the Boeing 727 demanding the release of more than 300 Shiite Muslim prisoners then being held in Israeli detention camps. At one point the hijackers beat Suggs and his friend and fellow diver, Robert Stethem. "I thought I was dead," Suggs, 36, recalled recently. "I prayed I asked the Lord to remove me in his arms." The hijackers spared Suggs' life, but they later shot Stethem in the head. Since his release in Beirut on June 30, 1986, Suggs has suffered from severe anxiety over the conduct of his comrades said Suggs' Canadian-born wife, Chantal: "Clinton is a very different person now. It's been a very bad year."

Since the hijacking, other victims

have suffered similar difficulty. Beyond the present tragedy of the terrorist assault, the two incidents also had widespread repercussions internationally. Many experts on terrorism point to the two incidents as the beginning of a series of violent incidents that eventually spurred the Reagan administration to adopt a tough new attitude toward those who supported terrorism. One tangible result was the April bombing of Lufthansa by US armed forces. Denied Robert Kupferman, an authority on terrorism at the Washington-based Center for Strategic and International Studies. "It was the beginning that got the US government into action on terrorism."

US investigators are still searching for the people responsible for the two hijackings. Agency officials say that

the three men—Hassan Ibn-al-din, Mohamed Hammadi and Ali Atwah—have been seen in Beirut. They are believed to belong to a radical pro-Iranian Shiite group known as Hizbullah, or Party of God. Last October the Reagan administration offered a reward of \$50,000 for information leading to the arrest of the three men, officially charging them with air piracy and murder. US justice department officials say that by January, frustrated investigators considered abandoning the search. Although no arrest has been taken so far, one state department source and a "hindsight" of the hijacking is still possible.

The legislation also led

to demands by officials

in governments around

the world for improved

airport safety. Immediately following the hijacking, Hans Kruckauer, deputy chairman of the International Airline

Passenger Association (IAPA) called on members to avoid airports in the Mediterranean area. Said last spokesman Michael Livingston: "The two hijackings more than any other incident made the travelling public aware of



Victims being held at gunpoint in Beirut: a difficult psychological journey

terrorism." Then, Reagan administration officials issued an alert to Americans warning against use of Athens airport. Even before the TWA incident, the airport had passed scrutiny for its poor security.

It will be much more difficult to relieve the emotional lives of the victims of Flight 847. For navy diver Suggs, the psychological journey has been

particularly difficult. A month ago, when many physicians ruled that he was fit for overseas duty at an undisclosed location, Suggs was terrified of boarding an airplane. Said his wife, Chantal: "His buddies had to drag him on to the plane."

Suggs himself says that he survived the hijacking only because the flight purser, Ub Dereckson, stepped between

him and one of the gunmen, shouting, "Enough! Enough!" Recalled Suggs: "She saved my life. She diverted him." Now flying with TWA again, Dereckson recalled her experience from her New Jersey home: "It has been very hard," she said. "But I think I have adjusted to a normal life."

Most victims have sought refuge among family and friends, avoiding the glare of publicity. Some, such as hostage-taker Ali Atwah and TWA pilot Capt. Kurt Carlson, have settled abroad. Capt. Carl, an Oregon-based oil industry veteran, has taken up residence in Australia, while TWA pilot is on an undisclosed furlough, under fire for two. But a few, such as 38-year-old Kurt Carlson, have made their appearance public. Carlson, a roofing contractor who was a major in the army reserve at the time of the hijacking, was beaten for 45 hours during his captivity and nearly died from the assault. He has since published a book about his ordeal. Said Carlson, "I am a trained combat soldier, but I learned that you need something else to survive. It's faith and prayer that keep you going." But he added, "I don't think you ever get over something like this."

—JAMES MITCHELL with
WILLIAM LOWTHORPE in Washington and
SUSAN SPENCER in Athens

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COLUMN

Trading in the Canadian identity

By Charles Gordon

Old buddy the Canadian identity is raising his or her head again in the free trade debate. Here is the technical sense of how many books can cross across the border, who can write them and so on. Here is the Canadian identity battle being fought out on what has come to be the familiar battleground, namely, whether our television stations can black out American beer commercials and replace them with Canadian beer commercials. No, today's Canadian identity question has to do with the kind of people we are and whether we want to keep on being people like that.

Years go by without anyone asking about it, then suddenly it is the only thing anyone is talking about. The debate on free trade has suddenly jarred the question loose from the shelves and put it back on page 1.

You can argue whether the question is appropriate today. There is a distinct possibility that we could wake up one day after free trade begins and find that we are exactly the same people who used to sleep the night before. It has not been proved that free trade is going to change our personalities in any way. But the political debaters are suddenly talking as if it will, and it is interesting that they are. Remember that what the politicians say is always based on what they think we are thinking.

So when Ed Broadbent says, of the federal Tories, that "they want to open up almost every aspect of the Canadian way of doing things," he is saying, first, that Canadians are a Canadian way of doing things and, second, that they don't want it changed.

The most eloquent expression of that point of view comes from John Turner, by all accounts a recent convert to the anti-free trade forces, is answering Brian Mulroney's television address on free trade last month.

"We like it here," Turner said. "We like our system of government, our spirit of tolerance, safety in our streets, our way of doing things. We do not want to become the fifth state of the American union. Sure, it may cost us some taxes. That's a price we have to pay. But I believe the price of being a Canadian is a price worth paying."

Broadbent followed him and said this: "Ours is a great nation, not because of power but because we have made great strides in combining de-

emony with creativity, liberty with equality."

Note that the Canadian "way of doing things" figures in both speeches. Crossing the two statements, break them down, and between the lines and you get this: we might make a free book is a free trade agreement, but we'll become like the Americans. The pace of life will be too fast, crime will increase. It will be dog-eat-dog out there. We will be richer but we won't be able to stick together.

Agree with that or not, the important thing is that Broadbent and Turner see there is a political market for the idea. That does not mean they are incoherents in holding it, but politicians do not broadcast everything they believe; they prefer to broadcast ideas they think the public shares.

The Canadian identity that emerges from between the lines of the Broadbent and Turner speeches will be this:

Years go by without anyone mentioning the Canadian identity, then suddenly it is the only thing people talk about

stuff is old-fashioned—that is, those barns before the baby boomers. Think of it as a family Heinz's Dad. It looks like something out of a magazine ad for Export cigarettes.

He wears a turtleneck shirt, sits in a canoe and has a pipe in his mouth. Maxi cooks lunch for the children, who come home from school, and they all listen to *The Happy Gang*. If they have a television, they watch the CBC most because it comes in the clearest. American sitcoms just across the border—*Barney Miller*, *Dallas*, *Buffalo Bill*—don't always come in well. When the adults manage a glimpse of the *Treatment of Native Peoples* or the *McCarthy hearings*, they feel a sense of living in a country foreign from the one they see on their television sets.

Cross a year these Canadians pile into the Major, a Canadian-made car something like a Mercury, and drive to the United States to load up on cheap clothes in the latest styles. They're a little bit short, how much they bought when the man at the Canadian border asks them if they have any

thing to declare. They think there's more to buy and things are a bit more exciting on the American side of the border, but they are glad to get back.

This family has an uncle who went to live in California and made it big. When he visits he brings terrific presents and pushes his relatives about their slower ways, their lower incomes, their smaller cars. The kids envy their uncle but, on the good side, did that their dream of being like his fades away so gradually that they eventually forget they ever had it.

Implicit in Mulroney's invitation to Canadians to join him in pursuing free trade with the United States is another invitation to get off the still waters and out of the canoe, to climb into a muscle car and try out the fast lane.

Yet, he must have realized what Turner and Broadbent obviously realized that there remains in the country a strong attachment to the canoe and the still waters. Mulroney's speech was full of reassurance. The nature of the Canadian Market is in. We ourselves are no less Canadian because of the attachment with the United States. Nothing will change our political sovereignty, our system of social programs. For a man who was saying "Look at this as a declaration of east Adenov in ourselves," he sounded remarkably defensive about the whole thing.

For those who support it, there is an argument about free trade being held up as the enemy of the Canadian way of doing things. Free trade is, after all, merely an economic arrangement. But it is encouraging that some Canadians are asking the right questions—not necessarily about free trade, but the right questions, period. Is this a sicker place than the United States? Do we like it better than they? How much does it matter that the designer jeans and more born than that? Is there a price to be paid for being Canadian? Are we willing to pay it?

A lot can happen. The Conservatives may bring a lot out from free trade, or they may not. In the end, the Americans may compromise the whole idea, inadvertently or out of ignorance or indifference. But if our political leaders stick to their present positions on this one, the next federal election may give a good indication of what sort of people we think we would like to be.

Charles Gordon is a columnist for the Ottawa Citizen.





PRIDE AND PATRIOTISM

—COVERESSAY

By Marci McDonald

Like so many immigrant roaches America's shores, she arrived in New York harbor waterlogged and scared. Emerging from the belly of the French naval freight liner, she was at first scolded by the city's bourgeoisie and disdained as a *New York Times* editor called it "unclean." But over a century, the story of the Statue of Liberty has become a metaphor for the progress of the nation itself. She was dispatched in 1886 originally as a tribute to the people of the United States by a freedom-loving French republican named Edouard René Lefèuvre de Laboulaye. But on the way to her 100th birthday party celebrations this week, the 151-foot "Mother of Exiles," who welcomed the world's tired, poor and "huddled masses yearning to breathe free," has become Americanized herself. In the process, she has emerged as the ultimate icon in a new outpouring of American patriotism.

"As the people surrounding the centennial skewer, the Statue of Liberty is as capable of inspiring awe in today's jaded high-tech world as it was a century ago, when it was raised as testimony to the engineering brilliance of its age. In the years since, the Lady of Liberty has been glorified and commercialized, promoted as the inspiration for war bond sales and exploited to peddle garbage bags and cast-iron torch has embodied the dream of generations of oppressed: I live to see that dream—like her, grown scarred and tarnished. We take hostages once by Native Americans and six years later by Iranian

Patti Now, as Lebowitz's lighthouse makes her embark on her second century as a product of distinctly American experience—the country-wide tour (page 16). This week she unveils her \$70-million renovation look in a \$35-million extravaganza that, in her sheer scope and unashamed self-aggrandizement, is uniquely American. With the help of a cast of thousands, the starlet's wildly publicized renovation has come to symbolize America's own re-furbished faith in itself as a nation (page 13).

Some see that new patriotism used as a natural reaction to the humiliation Americans felt for two decades over their defeat in Vietnam, the Watergate scandal and the Iran-Contra hostage crisis. Suddenly, the postwar Goliath had found itself humbled both at home and abroad. The other

ubed ideals and institutions had been called into question. "There was a sense that this powerful, proud nation had lost its moorings and couldn't control its own destiny anymore," said historian Norman Ornstein of Washington's conservative American Enterprise Institute. When Ronald Reagan exhorted the nation to stand tall once more, Americans swamped him with the gratitude of their votes for making it respectable to feel good about the country again.

Strains: That resurgence of national pride has revived old notions of frontier toughness and unleashed a new wave of machismo rhetoric and aggressive policies which

Grossman's at the national subpoenas are the unpleasant reminders of a 45-per-cent drop in the US share of global gross product over 20 years, the emergence of the country as the world's major debtor nation last week and the realization that the \$90-billion-plus budget deficit could exceed the growth of the US economy.

Charles Davis, Director of Canadian studies at Washington's School for Advanced International Studies, "Twentieth century is a kind of entertainment right now—a way of getting away from news and anxieties."

Indeed, Davis sees Reagan's call to rally around the flag as a way of getting away from the news and anxieties.

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¹Washington's Capitol building; Parliament buildings in Ottawa; a new sense of nationhood.



nation as an entity, afflicted, as some see it, with a permanent identity crisis.

as a brilliant political stroke. By giving Americans confidence in their country and institutions again, he can win their backing for policies that would otherwise be hard to swallow—notably, a military buildup at the expense of social programs. Said Duran: "Patriotism is necessary to get the best out of us."

But the results of that diversion are not always as harmless as the gifts of a Liberty Weekend. As veterans of the Second World War remember, unbridled patronage sometimes wear an ugly face. Hines of that, in their more benign form, have emerged in the pressure on Brains for a new emigration policy that would prevent a new generation of refugees from seeking the American dream—in particular the record numbers of legal and illegal immigrants, moreover over the U.S. border with Mexico.

Myths Canadians had a taste of patriots' darker side last year when the U.S. Immigration Service largely ousted Farley Mowat from American soil—ostensibly because he once threatened to shoot down U.S. military planes with rifle—and baseball fans in New York last fall heard the Canadian national anthem. In fact, Canadians' constant awareness is that at any moment the boisterous giant to the south could turn into what novelist Margaret Atwood has

nation as an entity, afflicted, as some see it, with a permanent identity crisis.

But the patriotic shrill level does not mean Canadians have less affection for their nation. "There's a quiet and deep attachment to the notion of being Canadian," said Durna. "But Canadians don't think it's worth to express it too noisily or forcefully." These differences may have resulted in a perfect segue for two countries sharing a centennial. As Americans unabashedly indulge themselves in a patriotic spree this week, Canadians can celebrate the constitutional differences which make sound, sensible choices.

PULSE OF THE HEARTLAND

COVER

An American prepared for the Statue of Liberty ceremony in New York and the celebration of national independence on July Fourth, Midwest's Senator Walter Bob Jones drove through the U.S. Midwest to take the pulse of the patriotic heartland. His four-day, 300-mile drive along U.S. 40—with stops to talk to dozens of people along the soap-stretched west from Wheeling, W. Va., across Ohio, Indiana and Illinois to St. Louis, Mr. Jones' report:

Even before the Independence Day weekend, American flags were everywhere. They flew from banks, schools, fast-food restaurants, banks, white-frame houses and a red barn with "Chez Mall Pound Tobacco" painted across its gable end. There was even one on the shirt-sleeves of Dennis Baker's blue polo-shirted uniform. In fact, Baker, the 25-year-old deputy marshal of Knightsbridge, Ind., said that reverses for the flag was as ingrained in him that, as a boy, when the local television station would sign off by playing The Star-Spangled Banner, he would instinctively stand up. Not far down the road, at the national headquarters of the American Legion in Indianapolis, Lee Bloody conducted a test of patriotism. As the Legion's Assistant Director for Americanism, his job is to ensure that flags across the country are displayed according to the proper etiquette—for instance, not in bad weather unless an all-weather flag is used. Bloody offers this assessment of the flag's importance: "It's the culmination of the feeling that America is the country in the world."

TRADITION: That was the message all along U.S. 40, a road that rolls out of the green hills of eastern Ohio on to vast fields of soybeans and waist-high corn. At the Knights of Columbus hall in Zanesville, Ohio, a truck driver glanced up from a bottle of Michelob beer to describe America as "the best place there is," and his companion added,

"You tell me one that's better." It is a kind of intimacy of national confidence and pride, one that seems to be recited less as a boast than as a simple statement of fact. The sentiment has survived such caustics as Vietnam, Water-

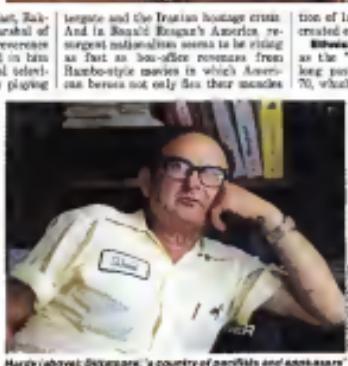
gate and the Iranian hostage crisis. And in Ronald Reagan's America, resurgence nationalism seems to be rising as fast as box-office revenues from Rambo-style movies in which Americans heroes not only flex their muscles

but also and the Iranian hostage crisis. And in Ronald Reagan's America, resurgence nationalism seems to be rising as fast as box-office revenues from Rambo-style movies in which Americans heroes not only flex their muscles created equal."

BETWEEN: The National Road's byway at the "Main Street of America" is long past, and the sleeker Interstate 70, which parallels it, now carries the brunt of traffic. But discreet spots of the original sections are still the core of the area's population, and they are decidedly American. At S. Anna Bachman's farm, originally from the British Isles, came west in the early 1800s, Berwick, 48, grew up in Richmond, Ind., and now directs the Wayne County Historical Museum there. But when she lived for two years in Newark, N.J., people repeatedly asked her, "What are you?" Explained Bachman: "They wanted to know my ethnic background. But that was very unfamiliar to me. We just think of ourselves as Americans."

Even the area's new residents are catching on quickly. Wei Yi Tseng, 18, whose family emigrated from Korea four years ago and now runs the Mandarin Garden restaurant in Richmond, said of his new homeland: "It's a great country. I'm proud of it."

Americans will express that pride on July Fourth, the 150th anniversary of



Marty (above), Dennis's "country of pacifists and爱国主义者"

but always win. Staff Sgt. Glenn Chase, a National Guard recruiter in Indianapolis, said that when he visited schools after the U.S. bombing attack on Libya in April, he was surrounded by students asking: "Are you guys going to Libya? Can I do that?"

In one sense, the region's patriotism

isn't always win. Staff Sgt. Glenn Chase, a National Guard recruiter in Indianapolis, said that when he visited schools after the U.S. bombing attack on Libya in April, he was surrounded by students asking: "Are you guys going to Libya? Can I do that?"

the signing of the Declaration of Independence, with bursts of fireworks in towns all along U.S. 40. In Cambridge, Ohio, with a population of 12,000, the local American Legion has imported 8,000 pounds of the standard red, white and blue drapes for participation in parades more than just once a year.

Along the old National Road, some powerhouse houses are adorned with eagles or tanks and, in Brazil, Ind., with a U.S. Air Force jet. And there there is East Germanatown, Ind., which, during the First World War, lost anyone doubted its patriotism, renamed itself Parching after American Gen. John Joseph Pershing. Today, as if to please everyone, its welcome signs reads, "East Germanatown or Pershing."

During the Vietnam War, however,

or "Leave It bumper stickers," said Jones, now a writer-photographer for Greenfield's Daily Reporter. "It was pretty much of a redneck war."

"Today's students are clearly a different breed," he concluded. Bob McLean, 60, principal of the sole High school in Vandalia, Ill., has been gradual, and when the school started a Veterans' Day program three years ago he was still skeptical of how students would react. But it proved popular and McLean concluded, "There seems to be a resurgence of patriotism."

BUZZED: But while Americans do not hesitate to reaffirm their love of country, some disillusionment remains. It is as though the idealized names their ancestors forged and fought for has, through the faults of the American

we've become a country of pacifists and apathetics."

Steven Jones has another perspective altogether. A black air force veteran, sometime student and assistant to the pastor of New North Street African Methodist Episcopal Church in Springfield, Ohio, the 21-year-old Jones said that, despite America's professed adherence to principle, it is too often on the wrong side of world issues. "When you think of the American way," said Jones, "you think of power and might—but you don't necessarily think of what's right."

Being black in America, Jones added, can also be a major obstacle to success—but other blacks disagree. Sitting on her porch across the street from the New North Street church,



Elizabeth of Wayne County Historical Museum, the descendants of the area's originals/aliens are a decidedly American lot

the patriotism of some American citizens was clearly questioned. One former Ohio state trooper from Zanesville recalled being summoned to help quell antiwar rioting as two Ohio teenagers, "some people from" what patrolled "was," said the spokesman, 33. "Screws were screwed up in the head. They were attempting to tear something down that it took many years to build up. I referred to them as antis." Dave Scott, 34, who as a boy in the 1950s watched white-suited Ku Klux Klansmen march in his home town of Greenfield, Ind., said the town disappeared of 1960s-style turbulence. "There were a lot of 'America, Love It'

people and their leaders, failed to deliver on all its promises. For Elizabeth Stromer, a housewife from Alton, Ill., the country is rife with immorality, rampant divorce and unmarried couples living together. "The United States is said to be a Christian nation," said Stromer, 44, and a mother of three children. "But a lot of people don't have the faith in God that our nation was founded on." Bill Dittmar, 47, the owner of a farm equipment company in Terrepolis, Ill., is distressed by the crisis in family farming and by what he sees as the government's too lenient treatment of lawbreakers. Said Dittmar, "I think

Linda Biggersotham, 41, a druggist employee, said, "The whole system tells everyone—black, white, orange or pink—to be the best you can be. You can be whatever you want in the United States if you really want it." That was, and still is, the American Dream. And whatever its limitations, its message remains powerful and pervasive across the American heartland and the rest of the 50 states. On July Fourth, with flags and fireworks flying and a bumper crop of corn coming up, no one will complain most Midwesterners that theirs is not, after all, the greatest country in the world.

VOICES FROM THE CANADIAN PRAIRIE

COVER

On Tuesday, July 1—Canada Day—the nation celebrates its 125th anniversary of Confederation. In search of Canadian patriotism, Maclean's associate editor Peter Kopkind spent four days traveling along the Trans-Canada Highway between Portage La Prairie, Man., and Moose Jaw, Sask., talking to ordinary Canadians about their lives—and their feelings for their country. His report.

In the geographical centre of Canada, the rugged northern shield of rocks, forests and lakes melts into miles of seemingly flat prairie. Military and agricultural cities like Brandon and Steinbach, where people still talk of "the front," "the field end" and "as far as settlers, arriving along the partially completed railroad, some pushing farther west in wagons, arrived only yesterday instead of in the late 1800s. And here, where grain elevators loom over the sunbaked towns of Prairie towns, a deep sense of Canadian nationalism and pride is summed up in the words of a Greenfield Bank woman whose family firm was 180 years old in 2002: "We should fight for what our country stands for: freedom and the right to voice your opinions."

Along the Trans-Canada, where the 8th parallel often lies no more than 100 km to the south, past fields with their first summer stalks of green crops, people also express their pride in Canada as a more coherent, more unifying society than the United States. "Americans are very individualistic," said Ed Baker, a Kinsmen-Greenfields of Canada Ltd. stockbroker in Brandon, Man., and a former Canadian Air Force pilot during the Second World War. "There, we have a feeling

for our fellow man that I don't think is reflected across the way. And I think that we're prepared to pay a little extra for that."

The basis for that tolerance may stem from the history of the Canadian Prairie itself, a land and society that has nurtured a sense of people from all corners of the globe. Said Winnipeg native Georgia Parfitt, 25, a park attendant in Manitoba's Whitemud Provincial Park near the Ontario border: "People will have touch with their backgrounds. You don't feel pressured to become Canadian."

Winnipeg-based many grants underline new levels of pressure to assimilate and conform. The name of paramedic in Winnipeg is a turn-of-the-century brick building that once housed a little school. Rapita Kachur, executive director of the Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre, said, "I feel that my being Ukrainian is an integral part of my being Canadian." Added Kachur, 37, whose parents emigrated to Canada after the Second World War: "What defines a Canadian

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is all the cultural baggage that he has—the ability to be able to hold on to values from the past."

Along the main asphalt artery, many Canadians were astonished yet at the nation's accomplishmets. From the Canadians on the U.S. space shuttles to performances in international sporting events. "It gives me a charge when Canada is recognized internationally," said Chuck Dunning, 38, amateur treasurer for the town of Virden, Man. One special moment for Dunning: the 1984 Summer Olympics, when Canadian swimmers won 10 medals. In many communities—where Canada Day has traditionally been celebrated with sporting events—athletes have a strong symbolic significance. For John Fletcher, 18, this year's class valedictorian at Arthur Hailey High School in Portage La Prairie, Man., history for one is a living part of his heritage. His grandfather and his father both played amateur football, hockey, and while Fletcher began his university education at the University of Manitoba this fall, he says he hopes to play on the university team. "It's part of the Canadian tradition," he said. "The basic

symbolism. But the overriding focus of Canadian patriotism is the red-and-white Maple Leaf flag, the subject of rancorous debate when the Liberal government of Prime Minister Lester Pearson adopted it in 1965 to replace the Canadian Red Ensign and the British Union Jack. Now, it unashamedly asserts itself in front of post offices, town flagpoles on the tidy lawns of private homes and on sparse fire covers of vans and emergency vehicles, and later at the Royal Canadian Legion in Brandon, Man., said that because of his United Forces Loyalist background, he had "a loyalty to the British flag." But, he added, "Canada must definitely had the potential and the right to be a country on its own." Now, Saskatchewan, the flag is becoming "a symbol of Canadian patriotism."

For others, that transition is already complete. Although Bruce Peatton, editor of the weekly *World-Spectator* in

Manitoba, insists that he is a "proud patriot," he nevertheless says: "I love the flag." First-year University of Manitoba commerce student Deanne Switz, 18, whose family has farmed the homestead is Crosses, Man., for at least 100 years, declared that the flag "symbolizes that Canada is a distinct entity all its own." And in Moose Jaw, Sask., where the man street is draped with Canadian and provincial flags, public school superintendent Barclay Cost recalled a recent high school assembly during which a Grade 2 student immediately picked up the flag bag after it had fallen over. Cost later asked the boy why he had reacted that way. The student responded: "We were sitting there at the dinner table, and my dad said we should be more proud of our flag."

In towns and cities sprinkled along the Trans-Canada, this week's celebration of Canada Day are perhaps the most obvious indicators of increasing national consciousness. While some Canadians say that the day holds no special significance, about 30 per cent of Winnipeg's 622,000 people took part in Canada Day events last year. The percentage was even higher in Regina (population 176,000). And Canada Day also elicited in many smaller communities—with the aid of federal grants of \$36,000 per province. In Greenfield, Sask., population 1,307, the holiday will be marked this year by five days of events that include a patriotic community supper and sporting tournaments. Said Frank Clark of Greenfield's Canada Day Committee: "People are becoming much more aware of the meaning and getting the idea of celebrating Canada's birthday."

Patriotism At times, day-to-day concerns intrude into conversation, adding a cutting edge to patriotic sentiments. The free trade debate—and what many regard as the tough U.S. treatment of Canada—confuses and upsets many prairie residents. The plight of the nation's farmers sits them to anger others, among them Brandon businessman Lorne Collins, owner of the city's Redwood Travelodge motel and a member of a "Pentecostal-style church," contend that the country is becoming weakened because "Christian beliefs are being driven out of the school system. But all efforts to share a sense of gratitude that Canada's problems are not unique in the world—in no way compare with the troubles experienced in other parts of the world. Bill Grant, 61, a 33-year-old firefighter in Brandon and the father of two children, "These are just growing pains we've gone through."

Patriotism The image of Canada as a young country still evolving shapes the words of young and old alike. "We've got a lot of potential," said Connie Hotschuk, a first-year arts student at the University of Manitoba, whose

family has farmed for

four generations. Delmer Martin, 61, a retired farmer, carpenter and now curator of the Fort La Reine Museum and Pioneer Village in Portage la Prairie, agrees that: "We're still in the experimental stage, still trying to meet our objectives—whatever they are." From his cluttered office, he can see the museum's main gallery room, filled with the paraphernalia of a pioneer past. But the nation, says Martin, is the accumulation of loyalists whose family has farmed in Manitoba since the 1880s, is poised for the future. "We're still stretching out, reaching out." □



Southern Manitoba barn patriotic sentinels



Marie: "We're still in the experimental stage"



THE LADY OF LIBERTY

COVER

When French sculptor Frédéric-Auguste Bartholdi took on the task of designing a monument to Liberty that would be a gift to the American people on the centenary of their independence, he devised a curious sculptural hybrid. While he modeled the statue's face along the lines of his mother, legend has it that Bartholdi's mistress served as the model for the statue's body. And the July Fourth weekend honoring of the newly refurbished Statue of Liberty promises to provide a similar mix of the sacred and profane. U.S. President Ronald Reagan and other statemen will offer stirring speeches about freedom and the statue's symbolic importance to the immigrants who passed through New York's harbor in the early part of this century. But during the stage with them will be 20 tons of fireworks, legions of film and pop stars who are as extravagant—according to some movie reviewers—show that fortunes 200 Elvis Presley lookalikes, 200 bongo players, 200 fan dances, 1,000

tap dancers and a 1,500-canister drill team.

Oppression: And while few doubt that Chrylco Corp. chairman Lee Iacocca—the chief fund raiser for the statue's restoration—will be able to make good his vow that the July 4 "Liberty Weekend" will be "the big



fest party New York has ever seen, the refurbishing project, and the celebration, have been marked with controversy. Detractors charge that in his haste to raise money for the renewal of the statue, Iacocca "commercialized" the nation's emblem of liberty

and freedom. They also point to an assembly war between the country's three main television networks for profits from coverage of the four-day affair. There was little doubt that the statue was in dire need of repair. In 1980 a French study showed that time, the elements and acid rain had damaged the statue's skin, 22 tons of copper mired in Norway. But the monument's interior was in worse condition. The supporting structure—designed by Alexandre-Gustave Eiffel, architect of the Paris tower bearing his name—was sagging and weakened by heavy rusting. Said Edward Cohen, a managing partner of accountants and Whiting, the consulting engineers who were eventually responsible for the project: "We just couldn't buy her a new dress and risk her in some new malady." We had to

do her internal problems first."

A French engineering study also estimated the bill for internal repairs at \$15 million (U.S.), but the final cost was \$70 million—\$60 million for the entire Statue of Liberty—Ellis Island restoration. The U.S. National Park

Service, which administers the landmark, lacked the funds, and Iacocca—the son of Italian immigrants and the man who saved Chrysler Corp. from bankruptcy—offered his services and took charge. He proposed not only to restore the statue in time for its centennial but also to renovate some of the abandoned buildings on nearby Ellis Island—the U.S. immigration center that was used in previous years designated as lower class in the first part of the century.

Shrewd: But one aspect of hand-raising—the plan to raise 26 percent of the total funds through 21 private companies enlisted as sponsors—has been dogged by controversy. The *News*, a weekly magazine based in New York, also revealed in November, 1983, that one such sponsor, Coca-Cola, was given exclusive soft-drink rights for the snack bar on Liberty Island where the statue sits and that American Express, another sponsor, was promised the sole right to sell travel services to future private parties. Other firms paid to receive a range of official Liberty premiums, including a \$10,000 "special edition" Harley-Davidson motorcycle and two-kilogram dresses of "Liberty" prints that cost \$28 each. The *News* said in its piece that such corporate arrangements were evidence of a "corporate takeover of a national shrine."

In February U.S. Secretary of the Interior Donald Hodel, whose department includes the parks service, fired

Iacocca as head of the Centennial Commission citing "potential conflicts of interest." Iacocca angrily declared that Hodel's action was "un-American." In fact, Iacocca is apoplectic about his role in the patriotic pageant, and even his detractors credit him for the striking sums he raised. He admits there has been a "greedy, unscrupulous side" to fund raising for the Liberty project but insists "we will all be very proud this summer."

Commercial use of the monument many Americans call "Lady Liberty" is far from new. Joseph Pulitzer, publisher of the New York World and a Hungarian immigrant, had mixed motives when he publicly appealed for funds for construction of the granite-and-concrete pedestal on which to set the statue that finally arrived from France in 1885. Pulitzer later said, "Mr. Eiffel, who planned that big statue for Liberty was an wonderful man, but he did not care for it." But on the pioneer day of Oct. 28, 1886, surrounded by fireworks and ships charted by the World—the statue was finally unveiled. The newspaper continued to remind readers of its part in the affair for many years afterward and—despite the opposition of rival newspaper publishers—an engraving of the Statue of Liberty was used on the paper's masthead.

A century later the television networks are doing battle on the same ground. The American Broadcasting Co. (ABC-TV) paid an estimated \$90 million for the exclusive rights to broadcast the Liberty weekend show and expects to receive \$30 million in advertising revenue during 17 hours of the statue's appraisal hand.

Warmer: For 100 years, torch and flame have riveted the attention of shipboard crusaders to New York and,

in an 1883 fundraising venture, inspired Kansas Lazarus's sonnet: "Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to breathe free." One of the avaricious travelers was called Russian weaver Matin Gorky who, on arriving in New York in 1909, wrote fondly of the "libty toil," "toilfully strapped to her hand

right flame, defying the gray smoke and bathed all around in fire and iron dust." Gorky's vivid depiction of Liberty's flame, even today, is etched deeply in the imaginations of both Americans and those who came to her shores seeking citizenship—and a place to breathe.

—IAN BRENTON in New York



Statue souvenirs: an "immigrant side" to hand-raising

overage. The statue's "stars"—U.S. President Ronald Reagan and U.S. Chief Justice Warren Burger, who will swear in some 55,000 new U.S. citizens in four cities via satellite. Prodigies

David Walper, who is co-ordinating the \$30-million celebration, contends that the citizenship ceremony and a presentation of a Walper-designed Medal of Liberty to 12 immigrants, including Henry Kissinger and Bob Hope, is "entertainment." As such, he argues, it can be packaged and sold to television. Competing networks, who also plan to cover events live, disagree. Said Paul Greenberg, the senior executive producer of NBC News' coverage of the weekend: "I don't like to be told by some Hollywood producer that I don't have access to the President of the United States."

Sweat: But whichever network they watch, the estimated six million U.S. television viewers of the four-day show will just see an annual greeting of the rebuilt statue. In fact, the editor has been exposed by critics. Instead, TV viewers, the passersby along 49,000 steps that are intended to crowd the harbor, countless thousands on shore and a select crowd on Liberty Island who paid \$70/200 per ticket, will watch an "overselling" by special floodlights that Roosse will activate by pushing a button on the aircraft carrier, the USS John F. Kennedy.

And while there have been extensive changes to the statue's interior, including the replacement of 1,780 iron supports with stainless steel rods, new elevators, windows and wider staircase platforms, changes on the exterior have been limited to a new copper torch and gilded copper domes in the statue's appraised hand.

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—IAN BRENTON in New York

A tough week and a welcome recess

Parliament's annual two-month-long summer recess could not have come soon enough for Brian Mulroney.

For days, newspapers across the country had featured stories about the Prime Minister's extravagant spending habits on foreign trips—including \$1,200-a-night hotel rates in New York City. Then, the U.S. International Trade Commission ruled that exports of Canadian lumber violated American lumbermen. The American, who expected to lead to substantial tariffs on Canadian softwood lumber, signaled a new threat in the Conservative government's free trade initiative with the United States. But perhaps the crucial blow was delivered at week's end as the 22nd Parliament finally adjourned. A public opinion poll conducted by Winnipeg's Angus Reid Associates Inc showed Mulroney's Conservatives trailing the opposition Liberals 38 to 32 per cent—a seven-percentage-point decline for the Tories in a month. Concluded Reid: "Clearly, Brian Mulroney has alienated a large percentage of Canadian voters."

In the Prime Minister's Office, aides said privately that they feared Mulroney would be perceived as a "big spender," despite his repeated calls for restraint in government spending. And such perceptions would only add to Mulroney's deteriorating credibility as he prepared to meet with the fall-winter session of Parliament and conclude after three recesses rescheduled.

The final poll of 1,013 adults across the country was even worse for Mulroney personally. Only 38 per cent of those polled said they approved of Mulroney's performance, compared with 36 per cent for Liberal Leader John Turner and an impressive 60 per cent for New Democratic Party Leader Ed Broadbent. In Mulroney's home province of Quebec, the poll set Tory support at 30 per cent—28 per cent behind the Liberals—and found the public generally unhappy with the government's handling of everything from controlling expenditures to job creation. Liberals were plainly delighted with the Prime Minister's discomfiture. Said Mr. Douglas Franks: "This is going to be Mulroney's summer of discontent."

The net decision affirmed the status

of various U.S. interests that Canadian exports of softwood lumber—about \$3.5 billion in 1986—had hurt America's domestic industry. With the House member panel's unanimous vote, the

politicians are playing chess with it." Mulroney's image problem was expected to be high on the agenda this week as the cabinet's powerful ministers and planning committee meets in Saskatoon to develop strategy for the fall session of Parliament. Shortly before flying to Saskatoon, Government House Leader Ray Hnatyshyn conceded that Tory controversial often overshadowed the government's legislative achievements. Said Hnatyshyn: "The real work of the Commons has been woefully overlooked."

Indeed, the Commons has passed about 180 bills since the Tories came to



Mulroney greeting visitors on Parliament Hill and making a comment of discontent

power in September, 1984, about 30 more than the last Liberal government enacted in the equivalent period. Among the major Conservative pieces of legislation passed during the past 16 months were a clampdown on soliciting by prostitutes, compensation for departing in two failed Alberta banks, controls on the mergers of large corporations and several energy bills that helped dismantle the Liberals' environmental national energy program.

There was also a blizzard of paper activity that week as ministers, cabinet ministers and Commons committees attempted to clear their desks before the summer recess. Transport Minister Don Macdonald tabled long-awaited legislation that would deregulate much of the transportation industry. House

leadership produced a policy paper on electoral reform containing proposals to control the publication of political opinion polls during federal election campaigns. The Senate-Congressional committee on constitutional relations tabled an extensive report of Canada's foreign policy, including a suggestion that Ottawa begin talks with the outlawed African National Congress to help end apartheid in South Africa. And the Commons finance and economic affairs committee called for new restrictions on ownership of financial institutions.

Still, several key issues remained unresolved, including draft legislation dealing with attempts to control pornography, the dismantling of Canterra, the agricultural marketing board corporation, and various initiatives designed to help the faltering energy and agricultural sectors. Those bills would automatically die on the order paper if Mulroney prorogues Parliament in September, as expected, and immediately begin a new session with a three speech.

Inevitably, free trade will continue to be the centerpiece of the government's fall economic strategy. But the government is likely to encounter other controversial issues as well, including proposed legislation that would allow drug companies to increase the cost of prescriptions for consumers. Finance Minister Michael Wilson has promised a review of all the government's social programs, a step the opposition parties say could hurt the poor. And Mulroney has promised, before the next federal election, to persuade Quebec to sign the Constitution endorsed in 1982 by the other nine provinces.

A long-awaited cabinet shuffle was also expected, perhaps as early as this week. Among the possible changes: the retirement of Deputy Prime Minister Erik Nielsen from the Commons. The Prime Minister's aides no longer deny that Nielsen's absence from surgery, his birthday, and family commitments, among other factors, has forced him to skip government programs he once hurt the government. Conceded Tony M. Staschuk: "Nielsen's been sick all the time he's been here."

But spokesman for the 12,000-member Ontario Medical Association (OMA) vowed to continue the strike, despite a warning from the doctors' governing body, the College of Physicians and Surgeons, that a withdrawal and report of alleged conflicts of interest. And while public support was strong on Peterson's side, a Globe and Mail poll reported that 77 per cent opposed the strike—serious risks remained. Said OMA secretary Dr. Edward Moran: "The longer the strike continues, the greater the hazard."



OMA executives Rollin and Moran rejecting the government's overtures of peace

A refusal to surrender

Dr. Robert McMillan said that he felt better than he had in weeks

After 15 days of denying treatment to his own patients and turning others away from the emergency ward of Toronto's Humpty Memorial Hospital, the chief of staff voted with the hospital's board of governors to resign its doors. Said McMillan: "Doctors were under a lot of stress sending people away. That's not what we are here for."

For 45 hours later, the hospital reversed course—spelling to close its emergency wing and a returning ban. In fact, as the indefinite strike by Ontario doctors entered its third week, the medical community seemed increasingly divided. A growing number of practitioners said that they could no longer justify putting their patients at risk. "It's not right," said Peter Petersen, 40, an orthopedic surgeon, as he drove to catch an early-morning flight to a medical conference in the United States. "I'm not going to let my patients down."

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The protracted dispute with the doctors ended the first anniversary of Peterson's government, which ended Ontario's 42-year Conservative dynasty last June. But the long Liberal hegemony ended last week when two cabinet ministers resigned amid reports of alleged conflicts of interest. And while public support was strong on Peterson's side, a Globe and Mail poll reported that 77 per cent opposed the strike—serious risks remained. Said OMA secretary Dr. Edward Moran: "The longer the strike continues, the greater the hazard."

—SHEILA ARKLESEA in Toronto

The black carpet treatment
or...



Douglas (Bad) Smith on Vancouver radio talk show, an unexpected visitor.

The Sacred horse race

The cast of contenders spans the political spectrum from ex-national and two former Social Credit cabinet ministers, two back-bench MLAs, two former aides to retiring Premier William Bennett, one Progressive Conservative MP—and even one Liberal mayor, Vancouver's Mel Cooper. In public meetings across the province the candidates appear friendly and outgoing. But behind closed doors a bitter struggle has been waged for the soul of the Social Credit party. And the stakes are high. The winner of the July 26-28 leadership convention in Whistler, B.C., will instantly become not only party leader but premier of British Columbia.

With a month to go, no clear front-runner has emerged from the diverse pack of 12 candidates. But the race to succeed Bennett has become a division contest between party insiders and outsiders. Already, an unofficial coalition of old-timers, Soviets in slacking up to stop the upstart campaign of Douglas (Bad) Smith, a 46-year-old Kamloops lawyer largely unknown outside the party, Smith worked on Bennett's election campaign of 1983 and served as his principal secretary for two years before resigning—in anticipation of a forthcoming election—in ran as a Social Credit candidate in Kamloops. The brains behind Smith's leadership campaign is Terry Laichinger, a veteran strategist of Ontario's Big Blue Machine. But Laichinger is only the

most recent of a series of political ex-pats from Western Canada who dominate Social policy and decision-making, alienating many party loyalists. Since 1981, Bennett's party-line adherents have included deputy minister Patrick Kinsella, principal secretary Jerry Lamptey and deputy minister Norman Spencer.

Within the ranks, party loyalists say that Bennett's May 22 resignation announcement was but the final straw in an ongoing, mounting rift with Bad Smith. That perception has caused an open rift among many of Bennett's longtime supporters in eastern and cabinet, none of whom have born Bennett's discipline since he was first elected in 1972. Said Minister of Human Resources Jim Nielsen, himself a leadership candidate: "I didn't shovelf off in the stable for 10 years to have someone else come in and ride the pony."

The leader of the anti-Eastern alliance, dubbed "Bad Brothers," is 35-year-old Garry McCarthy, top provincial secretary and the grand dame of Social Credit politics. A junior minister in the cabinet of the premier's father, W.A.C. Bennett, McCarthy backed Bill Bennett's 1971 leadership campaign, and when the Soviets replaced the New Democrats in 1975 Bennett made her deputy premier. But in 1988 she stopped McCarthy of her title and began relying increasingly on her high-priced, out-of-province adviser

son. The final humiliation came when Bennett sent chief aide Lamptey to leave the cabinet if his decision to resign just minutes before he announced it publicly. "I don't believe in non-elected officials leading the party," said McCloskey recently. "That power should never be placed in someone who has never sought the electorate's approval. My biggest competition is the big guns from the East who think they can exist in here and create an image of what they think is the best thing for the party. That kind of arrogance the party does not need."

gate support. Like many others in the race, his main target is Smith and the Big Blue Machine. Said Reynolds: "They're not unbeatable." • Former energy minister Stephen Rogers, 41, Rogers is the longest-tenured official in the race. According to party insiders, he has been plotting a run for the leadership for years. A commercial pilot and the son of a Vancouver sugar fortune, Rogers has been piloting himself and longtime cabinet friends into remote parts of the province to woo delegates. But earlier this year Rogers resigned from the cabinet amid charges of failing to disclose his financial holdings, as required by provincial law. Pending guilty, he received an absolute discharge but was not taken back into the cabinet.

• Attorney General Brian Smith, 58, a compact, silver-haired lawyer with a close record in government. But in a recent interview, he was asked by St. Hilaire whether he supports Kinsella, is linked with Bad Smith's candidacy. Although not related, they have been dubbed "The Smith Brothers." Still, Brian Smith insists "I am my own candidate. Not anybody's backup."

In the event of a stalemate, federal Tory MP Robert Wrenman could emerge as a compromise winner. In contrast to the Big Blue Machine, Wrenman's organization calls themselves "The Little Green Machine." A Serendipita MLA from 1968-72, Wrenman has roots in both camps and acknowledges his unique position in the race. "I'm both an insider and an outsider."

Each of the 35 provincial ridings will choose its delegates by July 9. Then, the real work of the campaign will begin—building a coalition to claim the leadership of a party that for 35 years has never been run by anyone but a premier. During that period, the party has seen presentations of Liberals and Conservatives hand-picked to govern for the express purpose of keeping the New Democratic Party out of power. A divisive leadership race could cause rifts that might affect British Columbia for decades to come. But if the party manages to heal its divisions, the political outlook may be more promising. Said candidate Reynolds: "After this thing, selling yourself to the province will be easy."

McCarthy: a fight against the Big Blue Machine

Other candidates are equally opposed to Bennett's style of government and are seeking grassroots support. Among them:

• Foreign minister William Van der Zalm, 52, a wealthy businessman who owns the 57-million Fantasy Gardens World tourist park outside Vancouver. A charismatic populist, Van der Zalm spent eight years in provincial government before taking a sabbatical in 1988.

• Mr. John Reynolds, 41, a West Vancouver businessman and former open-air radio show host. Once a Tory MP, Reynolds became one of the best campaign machines, and for the past three years has been shoring up rela-

—JANE OPERA with DAVID LICKWELL in Vancouver and TED TAFTLER in Victoria



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The new unity of Turner's Liberals

With Parliament adjourned for its summer recess a year ago, Opposition Leader John Turner faced a highly uncertain political future. The party was 11 points behind in the polls, the caucus was divided and there were persistent rumors that he would have to give up the leadership. But last week, as the Commons adjourned for the regular break, a resurgent Turner was buoyantly directing a newly unified Liberal party in its attack on the governing Tories. Decidedly a senior side to the leader, "I think John Turner has had one of the best months since I've been working with him."

There were several clear reasons for the new mood of optimism among Turner and the Liberals. For one thing, Turner—after a long delay—spelled out his party's position on a free trade agreement with the United States. Then, he surprised Quebec nationalists with a detailed and prescient response to Premier Robert Bourassa's constitutional demands. And with the Liberals seven percentage points ahead of the Progressive Conservatives in an Angus Reid Associates Inc poll conducted last week, the numerous whispers—at least temporarily—have been stilled.

Using the television time provided to him after Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's July 16 speech to the nation on the issue, Turner declared: "The Liberals cannot support the Mulroney trade initiative." Instead, he said, the party favored limiting trade barriers on a worldwide basis. This setting up a moral argument to resolve specific trade disputes with the United States, Turner solved two key problems when he ended the lingering confusion over his party's free trade position. His televised statement, and a subsequent address to Ottawa's Board of Trade, forced the Conservatives to drop the charge that the Liberals were afraid of taking a firm stand. At the same time, Turner countered criticisms that he was unable to control those members of his caucus—led by former cabinet minister Donald Johnson—who publicly favored a comprehensive trade accord with the United States.

In fact, Turner had made a similar appeal for a multilateral trade strategy after a little-noticed special caucus meeting last January. But conflicting public statements by Liberal MPs clouded the official party position. Said Turner: "The position I outlined to the Ottawa Board of Trade carries the full

weight of our caucus." Still, a senior Liberal MP told Maclean's there had been "one hell of a discussion" in caucus before a consensus was reached. But, the MP added, "the feeling now is that Turner is in control on the free trade issue."

Turner also won praise from French-language editorialists—and surprised many of Mulroney's Quebec strategists—with his decisive stand on Que-



Turner in Ottawa last week: decisiveness

bec's constitutional demands. In an intended interview earlier this month with the editorial board of the Montreal newspaper *Le Devoir*, Turner unexpectedly produced a detailed set of responses that met most of the conditions which Bourassa has said must be met before he signs the Canadian constitution. Turner's position represents a sharp departure from former prime minister Pierre Trudeau's

hard-line nationalist policies. Turner would formally recognize Quebec as a distinct society, share federal control over immigration, give the provinces a veto over changes to federal institutions such as the Supreme Court and widen the preexisting in the Constitution dealing with minority education rights.

Liberal advisers told Maclean's that Turner's new, decisive posture had been developed largely by Liberal Senator Michael Kirby and Quebec eastern chairman Raymond Garneau. In late April Turner selected Kirby, an influential former member of Trudeau's staff, and Garneau, a former Quebec labour minister and veteran provincial politician, as co-chairmen of the committee responsible for the constitutional negotiations. Said a top Liberal strategist, "It is not coincidental that the statements on trade and the constitution emerged subsequently in that." Garneau helped to shape a constitutional strategy that would put Mulroney on the defensive and improve Turner's consistently disappointing personal popularity in Quebec opinion polls. The unveiling of the constitutional package during Turner's session at *Le Devoir* was also timed to coincide immediately before an important meeting outside Montreal of the party's Quebec wing on June 14 and 15. Still, for most Quebecers, Turner remains a liability to the party according to the Reid poll, only one-third of Quebecers approve of his performance as opposition leader.

Leaders also acknowledged that confusion over the Liberal position on free trade was becoming a political headache and a public relations problem. To the chief, important policy decisions should not be made until grassroots Liberal members had been given a chance to debate them at the party's convention in November. Said one influential Liberal: "With the job the caucuses were doing on us on free trade, it was clear we had to do something fast."

Turner himself appeared relaxed and upbeat last week. And influential party workers said that they are now convinced that he will easily win a critical vote on his leadership at the November convention. Said one: "Baring a collapse in the polls, Turner is fine." With an apparent organized threat from his former leadership rival Jean Chretien and the slipping popularity of the Mulroney government, Turner noted, "Every year gets a little better."

—MICHAEL ROSE in Ottawa



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Round 1 to Reagan



Contras unloading weapons, the President (below) second-deals, a congressional compromise and increased tensions

For the past three months President Ronald Reagan's Central American initiative—one of the key elements of his administration's foreign policy—appeared to be in danger. Despite his intensive lobbying, the Democrat-controlled House of Representatives had turned down his request last March for \$300 million in military and what he called "humanitarian" aid to the Nicaraguan rebels, commonly known as the *contras*. Many observers declared that Reagan had lost his political edge and was heading for a major foreign policy humiliation. But in a stunning turnaround last week the House—after a strenuous late-night debate—voted by the surprisingly wide margin of 223 to 208 to endorse Reagan's full \$300-million request.

The payments, in three installments, include \$70 million in military aid to begin Sept. 1. The bill now goes to the Senate where administration officials expect that it will pass. In Las Vegas, where he stopped to deliver a speech on the way to a vacation at his California ranch, Reagan declared, "It's only Round 1—but boy oh boy, what a round!"

What made the House vote particularly surprising was the recent controversy surrounding the anti-Sandinista

forces, where Reagan describes as "freedom fighters." Since last March three congressional committees have begun investigating charges of contra smuggling, drug smuggling and garnishing. And earlier this month congressional investigators declared that contra forces had diverted millions of dollars from last year's \$32 million in humanitarian aid to unsavory companies, top Honduran army officers and Barbados banks.

Some analysts credit Reagan's own intensive lobbying for obtaining the House victory. After the measure's defeat three months ago, White House officials told a small group of so-called swing voters, asking what they needed in their constituencies. But the turn-around in their positions appeared to have happened only in the last two days before the vote when the President himself began making a series of personal calls to Capitol Hill—calls that continued even from Air Force One as Reagan was flying to Las Vegas—and

the debate raged in the House. There was little indication of what parties White House officials had employed in congressional back rooms. But lobbyists on Capitol Hill noted that four of the six Democrats who changed their votes were on the House armed services committee, whose members have traditionally benefited from government-approved defense installations in their constituencies. And some insiders said that there were other incentives as well. One well-informed opponent of the contras said, "Congressional aids told me that trafficking in new post offices was taking place at a record volume." Said James Morel, a spokesman of the Washington-based Liberal Center for International Policy: "Some people may look at this as a great victory for Reagan. But with all the money and power the executive branch has at its disposal, it took him three months to win seven votes."

There have also been other shifts in the contra aid debate. Earlier this

month, after missing their own self-imposed June 4 deadline, Nicaragua and its four neighbors—Costa Rica, Honduras, El Salvador and Panama—reached agreement on a new draft of the so-called Contadora peace treaty for Central America. The treaty would have required as aid to U.S. support for the contra and would have banned U.S. military arms and troopers from El Salvador. As well, the plan would have placed strict limits on the size of U.S. military maneuvers in the region. But last week three of the Central American countries, which had previously endorsed the treaty—Costa Rica, El Salvador and Honduras—allegedly reversed their position. Opponents of contra aid charge that Washington undercut the treaty by offering the governments increased aid and easier credit terms on their massive foreign debts, in return for their abstention.

As well as supplying funds for the contra, last week's bill provided \$300 million in additional economic assistance for the four Central American countries—\$75 million each. Said Larry Hays, director of the liberal Council on Hemispheric Affairs: "What the United States did was buy the sabotage of the Central American countries."

At week's end, the International Court of Justice in The Hague ruled that U.S. support for the contra was illegal. The Nicaraguans took their case to the court after the discovery that the CIA had secretly killed two of its party. But spokesmen for the Reagan administration have already said that they would ignore the ruling. Meanwhile, Nicaraguan Foreign Minister Manzanillo D'Escoto said that U.S. aid to the contra forces would lead to an escalation of the Central American conflict. Said D'Escoto: "It really was a playboy of the left."

To combat that increased threat, Nicaragua is expected to receive increased Soviet arms shipments and to augment its own defense expenditures, already 50 per cent of its budget. That, in turn, would create further economic hardship and unrest—providing increased government repression. Indeed, already last week the Sandinista closed down the opposition newspaper La Prensa and imposed the state of emergency. Some experts predict that the White House could seek a situation as a justification for military intervention. That would defeat the very purpose of last week's vote, which many congressmen say is a way of avoiding direct U.S. involvement in Nicaragua.

—MARK MCDONALD in Washington



U.S. border guard with illegal Mexican immigrants undergoing Contadora

MEXICO

Continuing an offensive

When President Ronald Reagan and Mexican leader Miguel de la Madrid last met six months ago, they professed mutual understanding and harmony. But since then, Washington officials have reportedly characterized Mexico's government as corrupt and in need of an awakening. U.S. government spokesmen have also threatened to impose tighter controls on Mexican goods and citizens crossing the U.S. border. Then, last week an unnamed U.S. official attacked Mexico's opposition to Reagan's policies toward the Marxist government of Nicaragua. In fact, the official added, the Mexican foreign ministry was "a playboy of the left."

In the latest offensive against Mexico, Attorney General Edwin Meese charged that illegal immigration, border violence and drug smuggling constitute a "serious social and foreign policy threat to the United States." A U.S. treasury official added that a "massive, massive" increase is spending on border enforcement, was imminent. Mexico's Foreign Minister Bernardo Regalado says that the border traffic provides an important source of funds for the country burdened with a foreign debt of \$10 billion. He claimed that "waves of darkness" in the United States "proposed to build a high fence only after they themselves were able to enter and become a part of the nation of immigrants."

At week's end, Washington officials said that the White House plans to invite the Mexican president to an April meeting in California with Reagan. They said that the meeting is intended to resolve a situation that had become "very touchy." Added an administration spokesman: "Dealing with them is like striking a porcupine. It is best done carefully."

—GLEN ALLEN is Mexico with a correspondent's report

Pretoria's velvet glove



Victims of a Johannesburg explosion more bloodied than a bleeding head

South Africa remained a mixed and violent land last week. Three bombs exploded in the port city of Durban, one of them setting off a huge fire near an oil refinery. Two days later two explosions ripped through a fast-food restaurant and a hotel in downtown Johannesburg, injuring 11 people. All the blasts were believed to be the work of black guerrillas. In Cape Town, President Putter-Suka declared that the state of emergency imposed on June 18 will continue "as long as is necessary," and black activist Winnie Mandela—in an otherwise cheerful interview from her home in Soweto—said that Africa would "fight to the bitter end." The most positive harbinger, the British government, downplayed similar refusal to meet with officials. The outlawed African National Congress (ANC) granted the group's leader, Oliver Tambo, an audience with the prime foreign minister in London. The policy reversal, said a British Foreign Office spokesman, was designed to "reassure on the ANC that negotiation and dialogue is the way forward."

Tambo described his 20-minute meeting with junior minister Lynda Chalker as "cordial and cordial." But British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher said that the policy change did not imply that she would now in-

pose economic sanctions against South Africa. Thatcher maintained that sanctions supported by the Commonwealth countries' Economic Persons Group, would succeed only in hurting South Africa's black majority. She added that they would also cost up to 120,000 British jobs in industries dependent on trade with South Africa.

Bell, at week's end, on the eve of a two-day summit of Western European leaders at The Hague, Chalker said that Thatcher would have no hesitation in leading the way in the most effective way possible to bring about an end to apartheid.

But much of the South African drama is still being played out behind a drawn curtain. Correct early on the morning that the government's Bureau of Information was the only official source for news of black unrest, and, in its continuing endeavor to press coverage, Pretoria last week expelled two foreign journalists. Since its imposition just past the 18th anniversary of the Soviet uprising, there has been "a significant



Thatcher no佐助

confirmed loss of two foreign journalists. Since its imposition just past the 18th anniversary of the Soviet uprising, there has been "a significant

—BOB LEVIN with PETER YOUNGHEARD in Johannesburg

decrease in arrest-related incidents" in black townships, a bureau spokesman said. But even bureau spokesman admit that 50 people have been killed since the emergency took effect.

On June 21, black 18-year-old Andrew Motse was shot to death in the black township of Beyersdal, apparently by black guerrillas. Motse was in charge of policemen who fired on a crowd of protesters last March, killing 11 blacks. Last week's bombings in Johannesburg, however, wounded many whites—35 of the 37 victims. Most of the injuries occurred in the first blast, which struck a Wimpy's restaurant. About 10 minutes later the second explosion went off in a Holiday Inn also in the city center. No one claimed responsibility for either bombing, although authorities were quick to blame the ANC.

While officials have released information on violent incidents, they have been conspicuously silent about reports of police detentions in Durban, the human-rights group Amnesty International estimated that the South African government has detained about 3,000 people during the emergency. The organization said that most of the detainees have since been released. Those arrested more than 180 children and elderly people waited during a church service in a black township near Graaf-Reinet in Cape Province on June 19. But Amnesty said that the remaining 800 people taken into custody at the church are still being held indefinitely.

At the same time, government press-writers dropped charges of high treason against four activists accused of furthering the ANC's anti-government campaign. The treason trial, held in Pietermaritzburg in Natal Province, began in August, 1986, with 16 defendants. But 12 of them, members of the country's largest black anti-apartheid group, the United Democratic Front, were acquitted in December. The remaining four were officials in the South African Allied Workers Union, and their acquittal, without explanation, marked the complete collapse of the case. But the government should be wary of abandoning its widely emergency—or of leading the country toward anything but more bloodshed.

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CHINE (left). Mitterrand: divided in a political marriage of convenience



FRANCE

A path divided

They still wear their best wedding-pictures smiles and they both insist that their marriage of convenience is working. But 180 days after a coalition of rightist parties defeated the ruling Socialists in parliamentary elections, there are signs that France's Socialist President François Mitterrand and conservative Prime Minister Jacques Chirac are becoming increasingly uncomfortable with the arrangement. So far, the government has managed to function fairly effectively under what the French call political "centralization." But Mitterrand has clearly expressed his displeasure over some conservative initiatives. He has been particularly vocal in his opposition to a recent Chinese plan to grant more autonomy to the native Kazak population in the French South Pacific territory of New Caledonia. The president declared the "reengagement [between] us" would be dangerous, and could create "bulges of indignation" in China's coalition.

Since the March 16 election, Chirac—whose coalition has a three-seat majority—has pushed through a bill to allow the government to sell off state-owned companies and banks by decree. He has also reversed socialist reforms introduced by the Socialists, and he says that he will sell off the oldest of three government-owned television stations. As well, the prime minister has proposed allowing employers to fire workers without first getting approval from union leaders.

These measures have clearly challenged the Socialist president's beliefs.

Still, Mitterrand has consistently insisted that he will permit the government to carry out its mandate. And although the president has the power to dissolve Parliament, analysts say that it is unlikely that the Socialists would make any significant gains in new elections. Mitterrand—who according to opinion polls has the support of 35 per cent of French voters—can also force an early presidential election by resigning before his term expires in 1988. But political observers say that waiting provides Mitterrand with time to rebuild the party and to take advantage of already evident rifts in Chirac's coalition.

It also seems to be in Chirac's interest to continue centralization. The prime minister has made no secret of his presidential ambitions, and he needs to increase his standing as prime minister. As well, both men now believe that the most powerful conservatives of all: public opinion. Recent polls have indicated that a majority of voters want centralization to continue until Mitterrand's term of office expires. Said Jérôme Jaffré, director of Selvix, the country's biggest polling firm: "The French don't want another election right now. Not even more, they like the narrowing of the left-right gap that has traditionally dominated French politics."

—ERIKOHO JAMISON in Paris

PERU

A climate of fear

After rule by the Peruvian military for 12 of the past 16 years, the election of civilian President Alan García Peréz last July introduced a new era of hope and democracy in the troubled South American country. Then, on June 20 military and police forces crashed results in three Peruvian provinces, killing at least 156 inmates belonging to the Maoist guerrilla Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path) group. Last week, as the magnitudes of human rights violations during the attack became clear, García suffered a severe blow to his prestige and integrity by his 4-month-old government's apparent complicity. Jérôme Jaffré, an observer charged that the military had executed 65 inmates at Lamayoc prison. Said one western diplomat in Lima: "García always said, 'I will not fight barbarism with barbarism.' His credibility as one who defends civil liberties has taken a terrible battering."

Following the atrocity, the United Left opposition coalition denounced García for not pursuing a peaceful solution to the prison standoff. Said the opposition: "The existence of this barbarous act will not be pacification. It will only fuel the spiraling violence." Meanwhile, as Peruvian military forces searched for more bodies last week in the ruins left by rocket and antiaircraft missile strikes on the inland prison of El Frontón, a series of bombs rocked the capital of Lima. Seven people were killed and 39 others were injured when a bomb exploded in a train carrying tourists to the ancient ruins of Machu Picchu in the Andes.

Still, a poll last week in the Lima daily *El Comercio* showed that 76 per cent of city residents approved the use of military force in the prisons. Said one government official: "As far as I'm concerned, the situation is so serious that they would naturally approve of [the military's actions]. In a television speech García said that he had ordered the arrest of about 36 members of the paramilitary Guards Republicana for their part in the atrocity. He did not mention the army or the marines, who also suppressed the rebels. Said a senior political analyst: "We've got a 37-year-old with no previous political experience and the heads of the military lapping around him. He's a scared

—CATHERINE LIEBER in Lima

Remembering the dead



Clark 'no rest'

They came to the tiny Irish seafaring village of Ahascragh to honor their dead, singe candles and pray. One year after Air India Flight 182 plunged into the Atlantic Ocean 120 miles southwest of Ireland, relatives of the 229 victims—most of them Canadians—gathered last week for an emotional memorial service among the rolling hills of County Cork. There, foreign ministers from Canada, India and Ireland eulogized the dead and comforted their grief-stricken families. Declared Canada's Joe Clark, "Our governments will not rest until we find the cause and bring to justice those who are responsible." Callers from two Sikh extremist groups claimed to have placed a bomb on the Indian jet, but police have not had charges directly tied to the crash. After the speeches, 14 bronze plaques with the names of the victims were unveiled. Then, following denominational prayers for the dead, the mourners walked down to the sea and gently lowered offerings of rose petals, candles and wreaths to the outgoing tide.

ISRAEL

A widening scandal

In a controversial ruling, Israeli President Chaim Herzog last week granted immunity from prosecution to Avraham Shalem, the chief of the domestic intelligence agency Shin Bet, in return for his resignation. Shalem was the subject of a police investigation into the 1964 hunting deaths of two captured Palestinians by Israeli forces launched by Attorney General Yitzhak Shamir before he resigned last month. His replacement, Yaacov Harish, said that Shalem's resignation removes the need for an investigation into Shalem's role in the deaths. But some Israeli politicians said that Herzog was avoiding an inquiry because it might expose information embarrassing to the Labor-left coalition government—including Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir, who was prime minister at the time of the killings. Said left-wing parliamentarian Meiraviv Wertheimer of the country's left: "Until all those responsible are investigated this affair will not disappear. It is a black day for Israel."

VIETNAM

Sailing to freedom

Eleven years after the fall of Saigon and the end of America's bitter Asian war, the leaders of the new unified Vietnam preside over a nation in which austerity, disease and forced labor are commonplace. In the capital of Hanoi children beg in the streets, and the average annual income is about \$300 (U.S.) per person, one of the lowest in the world. Younger leaders of the Vietnamese Communist Party speak hopefully of forging closer ties with their former enemy, the United States. But the aged and infirm leaders of government—80-year-old Prime Minister Pham Van Dong and President Truong Chinh, 76—seem unlikely to ask for U.S. assistance.

That is partly because Washington is insisting that Vietnam and its military activities in neighboring Cambodia and help American investigators trace the fate of 2,800 American servicemen still listed as missing in action in the war. Meanwhile, hundreds of Vietnamese continue to flee from the country each year in battered sea-going vessels. Last week the West German vessel Cap Arcona II picked up 180 so-called boat people they found in open crafts in the South China Sea. The province of Quebec recently agreed to accept some of them as immigrants.

PARAGUAY

A show of force

Paraguay's iron-fisted ruler Alfredo Stroessner, the longest-serving dictator in Latin America with 32 years in office, showed once again last week that he is prepared to use his military security forces to quell any sign of opposition. Although domestic and foreign critics have recently attacked Stroessner for his corrupt, tyrannical form of government, his police attacked exiled opposition leader Domingo Laino as he made his fifth attempt to return home. Said former U.S. ambassador to Paraguay Robert White, who escorted Laino to Asuncion on a flight from Uruguay: "This is an open violation of human rights. It was evident Laino was the one they meant to hurt." White said he was also beaten by police. Later, holding 100 packages to soothe ribs broken in the attack as he returned to Asuncion, the 51-year-old Laino said, "I thought things in my country were better, that he [Stroessner] had softened his stance." Meanwhile, a government official said the officers had been carrying out their duty to prevent the return of "an agitator tied to the left."

SPAIN

Voting for socialism



Gonzalez 'no resting'

Following electoral defeats for French and Portuguese Socialists earlier this year, Spanish voters last week went against the European trend toward conservatism. They returned Socialist Prime Minister Felipe Gonzales to another four-year term. But the margin of victory disappointed some analysts. The party lost more than one million votes from its 1982 landslide of 11 million, along with 18 seats in the 350-seat Parliament. Most analysts said that the slide was an indication of voter dissatisfaction with Spain's 20-per-cent unemployment rate and its economic policies. Given the Marxist-Leninist character of the Socialist party, they see these losses as a warning and an incentive to change their style of government. Socialist leaders experienced successes over the rise of the Herri Batasuna (Popular Unity) coalition, the political arm of the Basque separatist ETA guerrilla, which more than doubled its seats to five. But the election result was also a setback for the main rightist opposition Popular Coalition (CP), which also lost ground to smaller parties. Calling the coalition's showing "clearly unsatisfactory," the leaders of the Popular Democratic party—a junior partner in the CP—resigned from the coalition and threatened to form a separate group in Parliament.

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A gathering frontier storm

The announcement was a long-awaited sign of hope amid a climate of despair that was gathering over Canada's offshore megaprojects. Last week in St. John's, the seven members of the joint Canada-Newfoundland Offshore Petroleum Board said that they had approved detailed plans by Mobil Oil Canada Ltd. and its four partners to develop the 500-million-barrel Hibernia oilfield lying 314 km southeast of the provincial capital. Newfoundland Energy Minister William Marshall added that he hoped the oil would be flowing ashore as early as 1992.

But last week the future of the Hibernia field still hinged on tough negotiations under way between the oil companies and the federal and Newfoundland governments. At issue was how heavily the crude would be taxed. With low oil prices squeezing profits, other Canadians and foreign-owned oil companies operating off the coast of Newfoundland's west coast in the Arctic were threatening to delay investment in large-scale megaprojects if they did not receive more generous exploration and development incentives.

The new pressure by energy companies for government relief emerged only a year after the Conservatives assented industry recommendations to lighten energy taxes and deregulate prices by dismantling the former Liberal government's National Energy Program (NEP). But in signing the so-called Western Accord with the oil-producing provinces and the Atlantic Accord with Newfoundland, federal Energy Minister Pat Carney also ended the generous Petroleum Incentive Program (PIP). Under that program

Ottawa paid energy firms up to 30 per cent of the cost of exploring for undrilled oil and gas. She replaced the grant program with a less generous incentive. Since then, falling prices have rendered high-cost offshore oil and gas uneconomical without

"to explore for oil in deep and cold-water frontier environments."

Exploration activity has already fallen off dramatically. The number of drill rigs at work in Canada's Atlantic waters was reduced to just six from a record high of 11 a few years ago. That decline is partly the result of poor drilling results from the Venture gas field off Nova Scotia's Sable Island. Two weeks ago the joint venture between Calgary-based Husky Oil Operations and Bow Valley Industries announced that at the end of July it would tie up three supply ships and a drilling rig currently working off the Nova Scotia coast, leaving 254 employees out of work. Said Larry Prather, East Coast manager of the Husky/Bow Valley consortium: "By the end of the year I will be surprised if there are two rigs operating off the east coast."

So far, the company has proven fields in progress. Husky/Bow Valley executives said that if the federal government did not provide more generous funding, it would stop drilling in its Bow Basin oilfield off Newfoundland next July. With the new Exploration Tax Credit, a company can obtain a tax credit of 25 per cent on wells that cost more than \$8 million, enabling some companies to deduct up to 40 per cent with the aid of other tax credits.

Industry analysts say that oil prices should rise again by the early 1990s, making offshore reserves viable again. But by then, said Alan Roffman, president of Geomatic Associates of Halifax, an oil industry service firm, many smaller Canadian-owned companies will have lost much of their capacity

to deduct terms of the National Energy Program and it did not work."

Indeed, between 1981 and 1985 the federal government distributed \$3.8 billion in PIP grants for offshore exploration. But according to Ian Doh, a Calgary-based energy analyst who publishes *Doh's Digest*, an industry newsletter, two-thirds of the oil discovered in Canada's frontiers in the past 20 years was found before the

1986 additional government assistance. Earlier this year Gulf announced that its huge Amundsen field 75 km south of Takaknakuk could contain up to 800 million barrels of oil—more than enough to justify the \$3-billion cost of a pipeline from Takaknakuk to the existing network in northern Alberta.

But Gulf says that it must drill three more exploratory wells at an estimated cost of \$100 million to define the limits of the Amundsen field. The company has demanded that Carney fund the wells under terms similar to the old PIP program, which ended last March. As well, Gulf wants more generous incentives that would allow it to complete port fees—located along the Bay Valley and Husky Oil—to participate in the high cost of Arctic oil production. Declared Gulf vice-president of development Michael Reggwood: "There is not a hope in hell of partners joining us under existing financial arrangements."

So far, Carney has resisted renewed lobbying by the oil companies for further tax concessions. In signing the Western Accord last year, Ottawa cut the total 1986 tax on energy companies by \$1.5 billion. The only remaining special levy on energy firms is the Petroleum Gas and Revenue Tax (PGRT), which could take up to \$600 million this year and will be eliminated completely in 1988. Said Carney last week: "You cannot resolve the problems of the downturn in oil prices by throwing money at them through government programs. That was attempted under the National Energy Program and it did not work."

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Carney squashing profits and a wave of layoffs

government began handing out those grants. That exploration effort, between 1985 and 1986, cost the oil companies \$4.6 billion. But the remaining third of total frontier discoveries made since 1980, cost \$8.6 billion to find—and over 70 per cent of that came from taxpayers.

Instead of creating new federal grant programs, Carney says that if further major concessions are needed, the provinces should eat their own royalty and tax leviés on energy companies. The energy minister is now locked in negotiations with his provincial counterparts and oil companies over what kind of deal can be struck and reap the rewards. Last April, Ottawa introduced the small producer tax credit, which allowed small oil companies to exempt the royalty completely. Carney is under pressure from Alberta Premier Donald Getty to eliminate the predecessor of the year immediately. Carney risks failing to find a solution if the possibility that another dramatic rise in the world price of oil could suddenly make frontier oil not only affordable but critical.

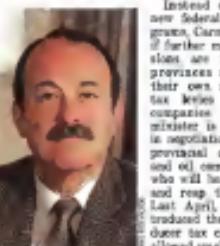
A measure of compromise by both levels of government may be necessary to save jobs and maintain development of Canada's frontier energy fields. The risks appear to finding a solution is the possibility that another dramatic rise in the world price of oil could suddenly make frontier oil not only affordable but critical.

Petro-Canada, Columbia Gas Development and Chevron Canada Ltd.—is gain significant tax concessions before proceeding with Hibernia. Early last month Peckford said, "The oil companies are being more pessimistic and less realistic than they really should be." Added Newfoundland Energy Minister Marshall last week, "We anticipated a certain amount of persistence."

But Geomatic's Roffman told *Miner* that industry observers feel that the Mobil consortium is prepared to limit its activities at Hibernia if it does not receive satisfactory tax arrangements. Last April, the St. John's Board of Trade and three other business groups representing offshore industries, alarmed by the prospect of the collapse of the East Coast drilling, urged the province and Ottawa to come up with a new and richer program of exploration incentives. They said that 200 Newfoundland companies could fall—resulting in 4,800 lost jobs—if exploration spending falls to a projected \$100 million next year from \$450 million this year.

The economic prospects are equally grim in the Northwest Territories where local leaders say that a pallor by Gulf would have a devastating impact not only on local communities—where 600 northerners work directly in the oil industry—but as all of Canada. In Nova Scotia, the decline in drilling activity has already caused the province's economic growth rate to fall to 3.6 per cent—below the national average of 4.4 per cent. The major problem is that energy companies have failed to find the two trillion cubic feet of reserves necessary to justify commercial production in the Venture gas project. Still, the Terry government of John Buchanan, which is currently negotiating a 1987 revenue-sharing agreement with Ottawa, is counting on leveraged terms for offshore operators—coupled with a modest increase in pipeline transportation fees—to stimulate exploration. Warned Buchanan last month: "It could be very difficult to get the level of activity offshore back to where it was in the absence of new tax incentives."

A measure of compromise by both levels of government may be necessary to save jobs and maintain development of Canada's frontier energy fields. The risks appear to finding a solution is the possibility that another dramatic rise in the world price of oil could suddenly make frontier oil not only affordable but critical.



Bogged down



Drilling in the Beaufort. Tough negotiations expected with Ottawa.

—MARK NICHOLS WITH JOHN PROWSE IN CALGARY, DONALD GETTY IN VICTORIA, AND MICHAEL PECKFORD IN ST. JOHN'S, ERIC WOODS IN HATTON AND PAT RICKLETT AT ST. JOHN'S

Conscientious investors

The aim was a simple one: to give Canadians an opportunity to invest their investment money into those organizations that adhered to specific ethical and moral standards. Last February the board of Canada's largest credit union—the

their money—but who also want their investments to reflect their ethical concerns. To qualify for VanCity's Ethical Growth Fund, a company must have a Canadian head office, not be involved in military production or nuclear energy, nor trade with countries



Roger Laing, president of the stock market boom and a desire to reflect ethical concerns

160,000-member Vancouver City Savings—launched the country's first ethical mutual fund. Board members said they hoped to attract \$5 million in investments from credit union members within the first year. But VanCity's Ethical Growth Fund, a mutual fund that seeks investing in companies that fail to meet its strict guidelines, has been an even more dramatic success than expected. By last week the fund was already worth \$3 million. Encouraged by the success of the initial offering, 30 VanCity members have invested a minimum of \$500 each—the credit union's management is now preparing to offer the fund through stockbrokers and other credit unions across Canada, possibly by the end of the summer. Said VanCity board member Robert Williams, an investment manager for VanCity East: "Most Canadian financial institutions are pretty liberal. They have not twigged to the fact that there is a real market out there for people who want to invest in stocks and bonds without feeling guilty about what their money is used for."

Available since the early 1970s in the United States, ethical mutual funds are only now beginning to be offered in Canada. Their charters are Canadians who want to profit from the current stock market boom by pooling

that encourage racial equality, and practise progressive labor relations. Said VanCity member Elizabeth Santini, a physiotherapist in Kitchener, Ont.: "The investment criteria are very important to my husband and me. We are opposed to arms manufacturing and we want to support Canadian firms."

At the same time, a father-and-son team is preparing the first ethical fund specifically for international investors. The Cetan Foundation Ethical Defense and Reconstruction Fund, organized by Crawford Loinger, 41, Vancouver-based securities attorney, and his son, Roger Laing, 21, an Edmonton social worker, Roger Laing (first thought of starting an ethical fund in 1985, when he was writing a paper on ethical investing as part of a Bachelor of social work program at the University of Calgary). Last month regulators in British Columbia and Ontario approved the sale of the canary trust fund, which has a minimum investment level of \$500,000 and will be offered to pension funds and other tax-exempt groups. Said Roger Laing: "Some pension trustees have told us that they are under increasing pressure to justify what types of investments they are making."

The so-called ethical funds have also proved to be profitable. In the three

months it has been in operation, VanCity's fund has grown by nine per cent. In the United States, ethical funds have traditionally done as well as other mutual funds, said VanCity chairman David Low, who was the main force behind the Ethical Growth Fund. "People will not invest in a firm just because it is a nice company."

Two weeks ago VanCity published a list of 15 companies in which it has invested. The list includes such companies as Vancouver-based department store chain Woodward's Ltd., Mississauga, Ont.-based Northstar Telecommunications Ltd. and Montreal-based Canadian Power Corp. of Canada. Because of the low level of listed stocks, ethical funds do not name the firms they invest in.

Borealis' dollars toward companies that meet ethical standards began in the United States during the Vietnam War. Led by a handful of investment advisers such as Robert Schwartz—known as the grandfather of ethical investing—shareholders began withdrawing their funds from firms involved in arms production. Now, Schwartz, 68, is a vice-president with Wall Street broker Shearson Lehman Brothers, where he manages \$56 million in ethical investments.

In 1981 the first ethical mutual fund—the Portmouth, N.H.-based Pax World Fund—was started by members of the United Methodist Church. According to the Boston-based Social Investment Forum, an association for ethical mutual funds, there are now six other funds in the United States. Together, they manage more than \$600 million invested in companies that meet such fundamental criteria as arms investing in South Africa or arms production. Another \$500 million in investments is subject to more stringent standards, reflecting whether a company safeguards the environment or advocates equal opportunity employment.

Canada's pioneers in pooled ethical funds are already planning to expand their own Roche Laing and that he has already had discussions with executives from a major Toronto-based trust company about setting up an ethical retirement savings plan fund which would be available to the general public. That would give more Canadians an opportunity to put their money where their morals are.

—MICHAEL SINGER with MARK HEDGEMAN in Vancouver and DAVID LIPINSKY in New York

Life with yen shokku

The situation was a routine one for any Western manager. But when Tokyo-based electronics manufacturer Sanyo was faced with the problem of rising domestic costs and cut-throat competition from cheaper foreign rivals, it took an unprecedented step for a Japanese firm. Early this year it laid off 300 of its 1,400 plant workers, breaking the half-century tradition of large Japanese companies not letting go employees.

The sense of the insult, and the attack on the country's corporate culture of life, is what the Japanese call the yen shokku—the yen shock.

The currency has risen 25 per cent in value

against the American dollar since the gashock was dissolved last September.

As a result, Sanyo, along with other export-dependent Japanese firms, has been forced to take drastic measures to stay competitive and profitable.

The consequences for the giant Japanese economy, and for a society based on an export-to-the-world philosophy, are profound. The rising yen, which has made Japanese goods more expensive in the world market, is straining the balance sheets of many Japanese firms. But the currency crisis is also



Tokyo stock exchange: a currency crisis

forcing the Japanese to re-examine the way their economy works—especially the efficient but socially protective practices that high levels of exports have allowed. Said Masakazu Ueda, research director of the government's Small and Medium Enterprise Agency: "The Japanese must build up a fighting spirit and discover new means of making money."

The need for dramatic alterations seems even more apparent last week when reports that Japan's gross national product had dropped 0.5 per cent in the first three months of 1986—the first contraction of the economy in 13 years. Economists attribute the decline to the impact of the yen on industry—exports fell 4.9 per cent in that period from the last quarter of 1985. The unchartered economic weakness developed as the governing Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), headed by Prime Minister Yasushi Nakasawa, prepared for a July 8 national election. Political analysts predicted that the LDP would again win more seats than any other party, but it will face opposition over the growing problems of unemployment and deflation of the industries.

The signs of economic disruption are now clear. Bankruptcies directly related to the yen shock totalled 50 in May, according to the Teikoku Data



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Bank. Takuji Yamazaki, chief of the management stability consultancy section of the Tokyo Chamber of Commerce, says he advises at least three companies a month on how to cope—a new experience for a man accustomed to helping companies expand. He explained: "The decline in experts is not the only cause of the bankruptcy, but was the biggest blow."

Harshest hit among the big exporters have been high-tech electronics companies. For Sasebo and others, the problem is an added disadvantage in an already highly competitive world mar-

ket. The electronics company lost \$16.5 million in its 1986 fiscal year. "We would like to raise our prices, but we cannot because of strong competition," said Keiichi Kurokoto, assistant to Sasebo's president. Although Sasebo has been stepping up automation in its factories over the past year to raise productivity, management found that was not enough to counter the large fixed labor costs of its well-grown workforce—and it resorted to layoffs.

Japanese industry is adapting more rapidly to market forces by dealing with the high-tech jinx. The techniques

of practice of corporate manufacturing within Japan—rather than operating branch plants in the markets to which they sell their products—is changing Japan's biggest computer maker, Fujitsu, which reported a drop of 15 per cent in its operating profit for the fiscal year that ended in March, has accelerated a program to move production overseas to take advantage of cheaper local currencies and labor. And Yamaha, the world's largest consumer electronics firm, which reported a 20-per-cent drop in earnings for 1986, has decided that it will shift much of its products made under \$100 to Thailand and Singapore.

A recent poll of top executives by the leading business daily *Nikkei Keizai Shinbun* found that most think that transferring some Japanese industry abroad is inevitable. Many also say industries that remain in Japan will either be geared toward the domestic market or will manufacture products that are entirely new.

Japanese industry has a good deal of experience in adapting to dramatically changing economic conditions. After the twin oil crises of the 1970s, profits initially fell. But the Japanese swiftly responded, cut costs and improved efficiency in order to revive a postwar export assault on world markets which proved to be unbeatable. That strategy is unworkable now, experts say. Renewed assaults on markets already inundated with Japanese goods would likely lead to revitalization, either in the form of protectionism or through the devaluation of other currencies.

The best alternative now for the Japanese appears to be to stimulate consumer demand at home. That could be accomplished by increasing government spending and by altering the tax system to encourage private sector spending. The government has agreed to increase its non-military budget by 5.7 per cent next year, and to review its budget for 1988. But said Robert Scherer, a Tokyo-based business consultant originally from New York. "The skewed allocation of resources in favor of exports needs straightening."

Many Western observers think that the Japanese will have to re-examine the country's whalers and retail sales network. It n. Scherer says, a rigidified, overextended system which employs 33 million Japanese. The organization, he added, is the "world's most sophisticated welfare system"—one that, through officially sanctioned redistributive, countercyclical workers. In its struggle with the pan-shokka, Japan will now have to balance the conflicting imperatives of preserving employment and finding a new direction for its economy.

—PETER MCGLYNN TOKYO

BUSINESS WATCH

A Confucian philanthropist

By Peter C. Newman

When Mike Sherman, the eccentric socialist who is mayor of Vancouver, was recently presiding over the official opening of the Dr. Sun Yat-sen Classical Chinese Garden, he inadvertently blew the cover of British Columbia's most notorious—and most interesting—philanthropist. After going on about the horticultural wonders of the only authentic classical Chinese garden ever built outside China, Harecourt ended his oration with a flourish: "We all want to thank David Lam for his brilliant anonymous gift that made this great project possible."

Lam has been a shadowy but heavyweight presence in West Coast real estate for years. His Canadian International Properties Ltd. has funneled at estimated \$500 million of Hong Kong funds into North America, and even though he is slowing down his negotiated sales and purchases of buildings worth at least \$100 million during 1985.

What makes Lam stand out, not only among the fellow Chinese, but within the black philanthropic climate of the whole Canadian Establishment, is his determination to give away about \$5 million a year. His recent creative donations include \$5 million to the University of Victoria to help create a Centre for Pacific Rim Studies; \$1 million to establish the David Lam Management Research Library at the University of British Columbia; \$1 million to help expand Regent College, a theological seminary in downtown Vancouver; \$1.5 million to help fund social and theological studies in Hong Kong, and many other smaller projects, such as helping to fund the Vancouver Police Centennial Museum and sending the Vancouver Symphony Orchestra on a tour of Japan.

Not since the Koesters arrived on Canada's West Coast from Czechoslovakia in the late 1880s has anyone in British Columbia given away so much money and used it to such good effect.

"I always judge a person by what he does with his money," Lam told me in a rare interview. "And what I try to do is not just duplicate or substitute what government should be doing, but contribute in ways that will help underpin our thinking because if the mind changes, everything changes." One example of this tackiness is Lam's sponsorship of a series of medical and philosophical seminars in Hong Kong

later this year. "If I can reach a broad base of intellectuals," he said, "my just 27 people, one day, when Hong Kong is handed over to China, they will be scattered. But it is like moving a seed which may blossom, keeping alive and spreading new ideas, including Christianity."

David Lam's father was born in a village 190 km east of Hong Kong, the son of a teacher who was converted to Christianity and became the village's

first Christian. After going on about the horticultural wonders of the only authentic classical Chinese garden ever built outside China, Harecourt ended his oration with a flourish: "We all want to thank David Lam for his brilliant anonymous gift that made this great project possible."

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The Chinese in Canada have come through a lot of suffering and discrimination, and yet we feel a very special part of the community," says Lam. "I would like to see the blending of both the Chinese and the Canadians through the exchange of Christians and Confucian philosophies and Confucian Harmony is the key—with yourself and with nature."

Lam's bigger agenda is to enhance the image of the Chinese community, to set an example that his own parents, several of whom could well afford to do so if he chose, should follow. "I carry this burden, that I want Canadians to recognize that the Chinese in this country are not a liability," he says. "Otherwise, I would be quite happy just sitting and digging my garden."

To a close friend, who was with him when the Dr. Sun Yat-sen Garden was being fitted, Lam was more direct. "If I were building a Jewish Synagogue," he remarked, "I could have got the money raised 10 times over. And even though there are more Chinese in Vancouver who are richer than (the Jews), I can't get any money out of them."

In his own quiet and enlightened way, David Lam is trying to redress the balance.



Lam: a heavyweight cultural presence



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Confronting the ravages of old age

Achieving productive, healthy old age is one of man's cherished dreams. But even the impressive medical advances of the past century have failed to provide the ultimate scientific objective, and a cure for aging remains elusive. Still, it appears that by increasing numbers of researchers in North America. And last week four members of a research group at New York's Rockefeller University disclosed令人惊讶的 results from experiments with a chemical that may prevent some of the worst ravages of old age. Their report as tests involving laboratory rats is part of a broad-based effort to discover the most basic mechanisms of aging, a search that many scientists say will intensify as Canadian and US populations become progressively older. Said University of Toronto scientist James Kirkland: "Manipulating the human life-span is still in the realm of science fiction—but just barely. It is coming close to being a reality."

The experiments conducted by the Rockefeller researchers—published in last week's issue of *Science magazine*—gave some indication of progress toward that goal. The five-month tests focused on diabetes, a disease that accelerates such conditions as hardening of the arteries and loss of flexibility, which are also associated with old age. From findings in earlier research, the scientists theorized that glucose in the bloodstream was responsible for producing those illnesses. The group found that excessive glucose does affect the aging process by stimulating cross-linking—bonding between proteins in blood vessel walls and a variety of other molecules, including collagen.

The Rockefeller researchers added that the reasons this results in narrowing, more rigid vessels and may also hasten the formation of plaque

or protein lumps in the bloodstream.

Arteriosclerosis is one of the most common crippling diseases of old age. But the Rockefeller scientists found that they could protect diabetic rats from contracting symptoms of the disease by injecting them with arachidonic acid.

vancing the aging process. Each group of theories has produced intriguing leads and some dramatic experimental results, but the breakthrough that could lead to new treatments for the disease of old age remains elusive. Said Barbara Harmon, a leading age



Michael Brawley manipulating the life-span in a lab science fiction but it's getting closer in a reality.

acidine, a synthetic chemical compound they developed. They said that the chemical appears to work by breaking with glucose-modified proteins, preventing harmful cross-linking.

The group's leader, Michael Brawley, added that they intend to test the drug's effectiveness in a series of trials involving healthy human volunteers within a year. He is optimistic that arachidonic acid may prevent age-related several diseases that cause suffering.

researcher at the University of Nebraska. "The thing that is badly needed today is a major effort to find the biological cause of aging."

Brawley is a leading proponent of a widely accepted theory about aging: He claims that the body ages as a result of lifelong bombardment by highly active particles of oxygen molecules, known as free radicals. Those particles enter naturally in the course of breathing, and they are known to damage genetic material in cells. In fact, free radicals produced in the body by radioactive fallout are directly responsible for radiation sickness, the symptom of which can resemble premature old age, said Harmon. "We use these free radicals as the time for normal processes. At the same time, they inflict an awful lot of damage, and thereby shorten the life expectancy of many people." Others say that aging may genetically programmed—a built-in timer clock—and they have mounted an intensive study of the genes and enzymes thought to have a role in ad-

justing the aging process. Each group of theories has produced intriguing leads and some dramatic experimental results, but the breakthrough that could lead to new treatments for the disease of old age remains elusive. Said Barbara Harmon, a leading age

three years. But if the free-radical theory is correct, the genetically engineered mice will probably live significantly longer than that.

Scientists who subscribe to genetic theories of aging have long discounted the free-radical theory. And Calfee Harley, a biochemist at McMaster University in Hamilton, Ont., says that there is "not very good reason" for that. He noted that all materials have an almost identical biochemical structure. And if free radicals are the sole cause of aging, such species should

have a similar life-span. Yet species of worms increased its life-span by 40 percent. Still, scientists do not expect to achieve similar results in studies among higher organisms. Said Harley: "To look for a single agent that gives you a longer life is like looking for the Holy Grail. There are many processes involved." In fact, George Martin of the University of Washington in Seattle, a leading expert on the genetic theory of aging, recently calculated that up to seven out of all human genes could play a role in aging.

If there are a variety of causes, it would help to explain why some people are more susceptible to different age-related diseases than others. But one aspect of Martin's research that offers a tantalizing suggestion of a simpler cause involves a rare disease known as Werner's syndrome. That disease occurs in children of parents who each have a defect in a single gene. Those unfortunate children develop normally until they reach adolescence, when they prematurely develop many signs of old age, including greying hair, cataracts, arteriosclerosis and osteoporosis. Most die in their mid-fifties. According to Martin, the fact that a duplication of one bad gene produces Werner's syndrome indicates that a single defective enzyme causes a range of age-related problems. Still, it is more likely that we will never be able to develop one magic bullet that will extend the life-span enormously.

Indeed, most scientists are concentrating as finding methods of controlling age-related diseases. Harley says that within the next 20 years doctors may have the means to postpone these diseases and add 10 to 15 years to people's lives. The University of Texas' McRitchie stressed that the primary objective was not "to make people live 500 years and feel like they're 500 years old." Instead, he added, "the real aim of most of the people who are working in this area is to extend the period of the life-span that is useful and functional." Clearly, medical science is a long way from discovering the secret of immortality. But if the current research into the biology of aging yields even a fraction of its promise, it will renew an ancient fear by sparing many of the diseases that rain the final years of human life.



Retired couple, Browley (below) Impressive advances but no cure for aging

retardate body temperature. He added that when animals consume extra nutrients, their bodies simply stop producing the compounds.

To follow up on these findings, California researcher can now design a dramatic experiment to prove or disprove the free-radical theory. The team will make use of genetic engineering to, as Gitter put it, "breed a strain of mice capable of producing the antidiabetic amount of a potent antioxidant, known as superoxide dismutase (SOD). With a class of the gene responsible for producing the compound, the researchers will attempt over the next year to breed a strain of mice with two SOD-producing genes. Ordinarily, mice never live longer than about

approximately the same life-span. Instead, maximum life-spans among mammals vary from a few years for mice in the approximately 155 years enjoyed by a few exceptional human beings. According to Harley, those observations strongly indicate that age is genetically determined.

He and his colleagues have shown that the longest-living species produce greater amounts of anti-oxidants, where are other compelling reasons that support a genetic theory of aging. For example, experiments show that cells taken from young animals divide a greater number of times than cells taken from older individuals of the same species. In addition, cells from longer-lived species will divide more often than cells from short-lived species.

JOHN BARBER in Seattle

Wars among the newspaper families

The reader May 27 sinking of the financially troubled Baltimore News, America's 21-year-old newspaper that reported as the U.S. Declaration of Independence in 1776—added that city to the growing list of newspaper cartels in the United States. And the folding of that Hearst Corp. paper cleared the way for the purchase of its competitor by the giant Times Mirror Co. of Los Angeles. The day after the *New American* printed its last banner headline—"So long, Baltimore!"—the Times Mirror Co. paid a record \$828 million for the family-owned A.S. Abell Publishing Co., whose holdings included *The Sun* and *The Evening Sun* in Baltimore, two television stations and two radio stations. Norman Isaacs, former editor, retired journalist, professor and a former chairman of the National News Council, a group that investigated complaints against the media which disbanded in 1982, declared: "It's the third- and fourth-generation syndrome. They want the cash. The drift toward chain ownership is impossible to stop."

The *Sun* sale was the latest in a series of transactions in which large-established family-owned papers in Detroit, Des Moines, Iowa, and Louisville, Ky., passed into the hands of giant media corporations. According to Ben Bagdikian, dean of the graduate school of journalism at the University of California at Berkeley, 97 per cent of the 1,674 daily newspapers in the United States are monopolies. And Bagdikian may be finds the current trend disturbing. He added: "The chains are controlling a series of local monopolies that are the sole carriers in many areas of agriculture local and across national news."

In St. Louis earlier this year the heirs to the press fortune of Joseph Pulitzer fought a highly publicized battle over the family's flag-

ship paper, the St. Louis Post-Dispatch. Some family members wanted to sell the paper and the other media holdings that are the legacy of Pulitzer, for whom journalist's Pulitzer Prize was named and the man re-

the founder, his half-brother Michael and first cousin David Moore refused to sell or to tender their 34-per-cent holding; the family went to court. The descendants wanted to keep the family holdings to Detroit-based real estate developer Alfred Woodward, for \$920 million. Eventually, the three family leaders agreed to buy out the smaller shareholders.

Although the Post-Dispatch remains in family hands, disputes between members of the Seigenthaler family in Detroit, the Engletons in Kentucky, the Abells in Maryland and the Cowdens in Iowa, owners of *The Des Moines Register*, have resulted in the heirs getting out of the newspaper business. And with the exception of the Abells, they all sold their holdings over to Allen Neustadt, the chairman of the Gannett Co. Inc. of Arlington, Va. Under Neustadt's tight financial control, Gannett has become the largest U.S. group, controlling 90 daily papers with sales of \$5 billion copies a day. The company had a profit of \$300 million last year. But Neustadt's major adventure has been 1984: a national daily featuring extensive sports, short stories and colorful four-color graphics. Although the *Wall Street Journal* is the second-largest paper in the United States (after *The Wall Street Journal*) with sales of 2.4 million daily, it has lost money ever since its 1982 introduction—so estimated \$475 million so far.

In Detroit, Gannett paid \$227 million last year for *The Detroit News* and other holdings, including a lucrative television station in Washington, D.C. But the future of the *News* is unclear. Engaging in an extremely expensive elaborate battle over the past three decades, the afternoon *News* and the morning *Detroit Free Press* not only cut advertising rates and newsstand prices—the *News* costs 25 cents vs. 20 cents—but also spent large amounts of

money on editorial coverage of such stories as racial unrest in South Africa, where the *Free Press* has a reporter and a staff photographer. The result has been an almost even splitting of the newspaper market, with the *News* selling 680,000 copies on an average weekday and the *Free Press* 645,000.

To end that expensive fight, Gannett and Knight-Ridder Newspapers Inc., the Miami-based group that owns the *Free Press*, negotiated a joint operating agreement which would enable both papers to cut costs by reducing staff. If the U.S. justice department approves, the companies would merge the production and business departments of both papers and publish a joint edition on weekends. Opposing the merger is a coalition whose members include Detroit Mayor Coleman A. Young and retired United Auto Workers president UAW Local 1000 member Edith Leon, executive editor of *Metropoleo Detroit* magazine, questioned the journalistic integrity of the merger. Edith Leon: "Neither newspaper is a basket case." But the newspaper proprietors, in their submissions to the government, have defended the *Free Press* as a "unique" newspaper—a "newspaper under the law," says Alvin Davis, a communications professor at Stanford University, who tried hard to see her paper with 600,000-plus circulation in failing.

Meanwhile, in Kentucky, a dispute in the Brigham family led to the sale of the Louisville Courier-Journal and *The Louisville Times* in May. When Harry Brigham Jr. removed all five female family members from the board of directors in March 1984, Brigham's sister Sarah and Ebenezer decided to sell their shares despite the opposition of brother Harry, the publisher of both papers. Last January the family's 60-year-old patriarch, Harry Brigham Sr., claimed that the sale of the family newspaper was both unwise and tragic, altered the company for sale. But the Brighams displayed their sense of humor by allowing a family-owned radio station to run a lottery promotion to attract listeners which proclaimed "Win a Family Vacation with Brigham Books."

In May, Gannett paid \$17 million for the Louisville water papers, which have won eight Pulitzer prizes for journalistic excellence. Gannett's Neustadt would like to go down as passing varied Gannett into the position of one of the nation's leading papers in the country. If he can do that through Des Moines, Louisville and Detroit—perhaps by making other partners pay the bills—then he will have really achieved something.

—SAM NEHRIN in Washington

A matter of ethics

The *Winnipeg Free Press* investigation that forced the May 19 resignation of Manitoba Energy Minister William Parasik has spawned a second controversy: the newspaper's own coverage of the story. In fact, during the first two days of a judicial inquiry into a possible conflict of interest involving Parasik, the former

line's executive council convinced some friends and family members to invest in his building to raise money for renovations. Among the investors were Parasik and Douglas Davison, a former Manitoba assistant deputy minister of employment insurance. Then, on June 1, 1984, Davison asked his partners to buy him out. A month later, Davison's consulting firm received a \$40,000 contract from the Manitoba Energy Authority, part of Parasik's portfolio. This year, as May 27 the *Free Press* reported those events under the headline, "Parasik Partner Gets a Hydro Contract." Two days later Parasik resigned.

Earlier, on April 29 the *Free Press* had reported that Parasik, his mother and his sister had used more than \$50,000 on their income taxes by investing in a company offering scientific research tax credits. Described by former Manitoba Finance minister Victor Shlesinger as "regular theft," the federal program was intended to stimulate investment in scientific research introduced by the Liberals in 1983. The Conservatives canceled the credit program in October, 1984, after federal finance department officials uncovered widespread abuses. A week after the story appeared, Parasik had resigned his office.

Meanwhile, William Neeltje, a political scientist at the University of Manitoba who was once able to force Manitoba Conservative leader Shirley Sprak to sit in an office provided two days after Parasik's resignation, the *Free Press* reported: "On the face of it, the facts published in this newspaper show that Parasik did not practice conflict of interest."

Following Parasik's resignation, former Howard Foxley appointed former Manitoba Court Justice Freedman to conduct as inquiry into the affair. The inquiry adjourned on June 4 but will resume July 2. And Parasik

—DORIS SMITH in Winnipeg



Parasik: regrets about winning tax credits



—S. NEHRIN



Davison: regrets about winning tax credits

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A world-class marathon for research

There were only 48 spectators—a few jiggers, some cyclists and three unlockers in wheelchairs when Dr. Hart Hansen proposed his self-set 10-kilometer walk, parking his car near Mississauga, Ontario. The local turnout was in sharp contrast to the enthusiastic reception he usually receives. The 65-year-old wheelchair athlete from Williams Lake, B.C., is on a road-to-the-world odyssey to raise \$10 million for medical research and preventive sports training through charitable grants. And the Chinese government officially designated him a "Hero of Service." It was only after he braved blinding dust, strong head winds and stomach problems en route to the 1,000-kilometer race from Beijing to Shanghai. But as he began 12 hours of marathons in the smoggy Shanghai heat, the muscular Canadian flagged off a disappearance beginning to the final and most of his marathon. Declared Hansen: "China is a mirror of what we're trying to establish. We are responsive in all levels of society—the participation was electric."

other Canadians see his powerful upper body pumping the wheels of his shade 35,000 times a day for up to 12 hours.

Honourable Older hockey star Wayne Gretzky. Shortly after winning that award, Bremner set himself a new goal: raising funds for research as spinal cord injuries a condition that immobilizes 25,000 victims in Canada and the United States each year through accidents alone.

To that end, Hansen sets himself a quota of 80 km each day, sometimes spinning his wheelchair around and traveling backwards to vary the strains on his arm muscles. He does it as he has been out three weeks, 25 new tires, 50 front tires and 50 pairs of leather gloves—at a cost of \$16 a pair. The entire odyssey may cost \$3 million. Ottawa has contributed \$150,000 to support the tour's five-member Vancouver office, but funds the expensive raises must support another six staff members who travel with Hansen. They include a cook, a physiotherapist—and Donald Alder, the friend who escaped without permanent injury when Hansen was paralysed. He transports the wheelchairs and drives the motor boats which conveniently allow Hansen on the road. Despite almost constant fatigue and strained muscles, Hansen remains confident that he will finish his journey. He declared: "We have touched tens and hundreds of millions of people. What counts is not the disability but the ability. The money will eventually be there because people will begin to understand what we are attempting to do and why."

winter will also allow for Vancouver-based researchers to test such items as insulated clothing containing temperature sensors for disabled athletes and winterized wheelchairs equipped with chains and studs. But these test results are necessary for Hansen as he embarked on his 40,000-km journey to demonstrate that the disabled can achieve difficult objectives despite the financial challenges.



Musser: 'what counts is ability, not availability'

Since he has already accomplished kept driving his toward He recalled that when he was crossing the lake last September several men blocked his progress through a small town and insisted on carrying him into a restaurant, where they bought meals for everyone on the tour. And in Alaska, Hansen's gritty performance clearly inspired the three youths in wheelchairs who came to the hotel parking lot to wish him well; they accompanied him for the first 15 km of his journey home.

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LONG-TERM SERVICES

Sandrine Boulanger (left) and **Dominique Bouchard** (right).

The author would like to thank Dr. J. R. G. Williams for his help in the preparation of this paper.



Honeydome: Sixties' attraction in America but good about Canadian fans

PEOPLE

This week, while Americans celebrated the 100th anniversary of their country's most spectacular period of freedom, the rechristened States of Liberty, writer Norman Mailer interrogated a nation's psyche. "We've had huge freedom, and we've aligned it, so the pendulum is going back," declared Mailer, 62. "The assassinations of John F. Kennedy, Robert Kennedy and Martin Luther King, Watergate and Vietnam produced a feeling that we had to get back to the old ways because safety lies

there." Americans forget, he added, that with the old ways "people descended into madness." But Mailer said he did not expect Americans to look to their writers for guidance. "They just want somebody to stop making noise so they can watch TV and not feel guilty."

With her hair still short from her recent role as transsexual temps pro *Randie MacIntyre* in the TV movie *Sextual Service*, Vanessa Redgrave is currently dazzling critics in a West End repertory theatre in London where she is playing the lead in two Shakespeare plays, *Antony and Cleopatra* and *The Taming of the Shrew*. Redgrave says that she has no difficulty alternating her roles now. *The Financial Times* described her as "a crop-haired ginger heroine of the title" with Steven's doubletress Kate. Said Redgrave, 49: "When I take on a role, I make it my business to get into that character's skin."



CHERYL WILHELM



INVISION

Redgrave: 'crop-haired ginger heroine'

now." I'm used to working with girls now, not the real thing—smelling gaudily, decaying, picked at by vultures." A more pleasant discovery, she says, was the "enriled" canons of tea breaks. "The first time they told me we were stopping for tea, I thought they were kidding. Now I'm hooked."

Four hit singles over the past two years have made Honeydome, composed of musicians Gary Lauder, Dave Both, Johnnie Doe, Darryl Graham and Ray Coburn, one of the top rock bands in Canada. The group is also attracting attention in the United States. Both's latest album, *The Big Prize*, was favorably reviewed in *People* magazine. According to bass player Lauder, 33, band members are now feeling guilty about neglecting their Canadian fans. But he added, "We're going to change that and tour Canada soon."

Brilliant biographer Robert Lacey, who has written a controversial book about the Ford automobile dynasty, *Ford: The Men and the Machine*, says that he makes a habit of showing manuscripts to people he has interviewed. Said Lacey, "This usually prompts them to be a bit more open."

But he says that Henry Ford II was furious and insisted on seeing his critics in person. "It was not an easy interview," admits Lacey, adding that Ford said he was not so much disappointed as pleased that Lacey had written what the famous grandson of the founder called "a sex book." Said Lacey, "I'm not in the habit of writing sex books, but when you write about a man who has had three wives and a colorful private life that sort of thing creeps in."

In 1976, after 11 years as one of baseball's most horrific injuries, Ron LeFlore resigned—much to the delight, he says, of those who disapproved of his on-field behavior. One colleague was Baltimore Orioles manager Earl Weaver, with whom Leflore had a legendary disagreement. "I generally disliked that little s---," says Leflore, who is now better known for his own best-selling auto-biography, *The Ugly Sticks Book* and *Stroke Two* (a third, *The Fall of Ron Leflore*, has just been published). He added, "I have offered to throw out the first ball if Baltimore makes it to the World Series this year, but Weaver says it'll only happen over his dead body." Said Lucas, 49: "That's okay by me."

—TOMAS MCGINN

ART

Paintings steeped in tribal magic

Throughout his 60-year career, painter Jack Shadbolt has experimented with a wide variety of styles and subjects. But he keeps returning to the images and symbols of West Coast native art. The University of British Columbia (UBC) Museum of Anthropology has just mounted an exhibition exploring that aspect of the work of Shadbolt, who is one of the West Coast's—and Canada's—premier artists. Jack Shadbolt and the Coastal In-

tag paintings of Indian culture on the brink of extinction. During the Second World War he served in Europe as a war artist. Although he reached out to the international art world in the late 1940s, embracing styles from primitivism and cubism to abstract expressionism, he kept returning to the Indian imagery that had inspired him in his youth. Said Hajdin, "Jack grew up with these images. His art is most powerful when he comes home."

Indian Boyhood, one of the new works Shadbolt created for the exhibition, is similarly haunting. Painted in acrylic, it depicts a mask hovering over trees and grasses; it carries a strong sense of the Indian's connection to the



Shadbolt's *Coast Indian Suite and Indian Masks: double-headed eagles, medicine wheel and raincoats and landscapes*

dium Image is a daring and, at times, disconcerting exhibition of 50 pieces—31 of them created by the 75-year-old artist especially for the exhibition—partnered with 18 related West Coast Indian artifacts. The show opened on June 27 and runs until Nov. 30. At a time when indigenous Indian culture continues to struggle for its survival, the exhibition presents one of the attempts in Canadian art history to bridge the two sides of native and non-native worlds.

The unique show was the idea of curator Marpessa Halpin, an anthropologist at UBC specializing in the art and rituals of Northwest Coast Indians. She says that Shadbolt, who became intrigued by West Coast native art at the start of his career, was deeply moved by Indian symbolism when he visited in 1969, along with an associate to Victoria at the age of three. And began drawing the masks and totem poles he saw during the Victoria Museum when he was 28. Later, in the 1980s, he studied Emily Carr's broad-

ly taking 19th-century Indian artifacts off their dusty museum shelves and combining them with Shadbolt's electronically colored abstract paintings, Halpin has created a dynamic new environment for both. That is apparent in the show's first display, which effectively pairs an early 19th-century Kwagiulth mask and Shadbolt's artwork *Red Knight* (1987). The painting is an abstract, richly colored oil in which he has taken the elemental forms of a similar mask and reassembled them into a coat of medieval armor. *Red Knight* uses the mask's evocation of death to articulate the horror of war.

The artistic link between past and present, between British Columbia's white and native cultures, are most clearly defined in *The Plaza* (1972), a three-panel watercolor and mixed media. *Eyedarl and semi-alienated*, bottom of the central panel of *The Plaza* depicts a mask from the Bella Coola tribe floating in front of a running

horse. Such paintings have more impact than Shadbolt's explicitly political works—such as *Boys for an Island*, another piece created for the exhibition. It is a surrealistic acrylic on two panels featuring a double-headed eagle, its talons extended, looming over a forest of stumps. The work conveys the artist's support for Indian claims to Meares Island, currently contested by logging companies. But *Eagle* is too heavy-handed; it gives viewers the impression that Shadbolt is paternalistically using Indian images.

Jack Shadbolt and the Coastal Indians Image is an affecting, visually rich exhibition. It is also intellectually and emotionally demanding, forcing viewers to shift constantly between two distinct worlds. Said Hajdin, "I wanted to show a conversation between two cultures." Viewers of the show have the unique privilege of witnessing a rare and provocative exchange.

—JANICE O'BRIEN



Shlomo Demons, Unidamill (right) a sexy instrument of promiscuous options

MUSIC

The sexy sax is back

It's a warm, throaty voice, suited to street corners or hot summer nights. And the sound instantly conjures up its shape—an exuberant curve of piping brass, swooned with rods and keys. Capable of wailing, moaning, squeaking and honking, the saxophone is an instrument of promiscuous options. In the 1950s the sax flourished as an outlet for the reckless shenanigans of pin-up girls, the women uppers of rhythm and blues and the squatting infancy of rock 'n' roll. But as pop music became electrified, the saxophone gradually receded from centre stage. Now, there are signs that the sax is back with a vengeance. Once again sax players have become a prominent feature in pop bands—from America's Bruce Springsteen to Britain's Eurythmics. Meanwhile, a new breed of bohemians is creating music devoted predominantly to the saxophone. In fact, the sounds of multiple saxophones still fill the air in the outdoor spaces of Vancouver's Expo '86 that month with the scheduled arrival of two major groups of sax enthusiasts.

One is the Shlomo Demons—five Texans musicians who wear babushkas, cheap sunglasses and gaudy African costumes. Bookers who have toured professional, the Demons are re-inventing jazz with influences of

bebop and boogie. They spent last summer on a tour of Europe's streets and clubs that took them all the way to East Berlin. Last month they released a debut album titled *Saxoville*. This week they are appearing at the Edmonton Jazz City Festival, with musical jingles from Thelonious Monk to the *The Pimlico Rose* theme. Lead leader Richard Underhill, one of the Demons' three sax men, "Sax players love playing with other sax players. It's like a brotherhood."

The other group going to Expo, Unidamill, takes an even more audacious approach. It consists of 30 musicians from France—who were invited to play—plus soloists, look like a postmodern deconstructionist team and perform what their leader, composer Gilbert Artman, calls "acoustical house planning." In Europe, Unidamill has accompanied crowds by encircling an public squares on forklift trucks and smoke bombs or scaling down buildings on ropes. Next week, in their first North American appearance, they will arrive at Expo's Plaza of Nations while performing on a barge. Declares Artman: "The sax reflects urban life better than any other instrument."

A relatively recent product of the industrial age, the sax was invented in

Paris by Adolphe Sax in 1846 to add muscle to marching bands. But it was Black American jazz artists of the next century—Coleman Hawkins, Lester Young and Charlie Parker—who unleashed its potential. Then, in the 1960s the sex music of John Coltrane set a new intellectual standard for jazz. Meanwhile, with white artists like Miles Davis, Bill Haley and the Coasters had ushered in the rock 'n' roll era with sexier players who performed frenetically like a sex machine.

Although the saxophone was a diminished voice in 1980s pop, the electric guitar-and-blues keyboards—blissed it from the spotlight. But with the recent success of sax-heavy bands led by such rockers as Springsteen and Tina Turner, the instrument's sexier appetites have returned to the fore. Said Springsteen's sax player, Clarence Clemons: "The sax is rock 'n' roll. I'm proud I helped bring it back." Certainly, the instrument is well-suited to the playfulness of rock. Tommy Cappella, the muscular sax player who pumps brass in Trevor's band, described it as "something that comes right out of your gut, not your thoughts."

Meanwhile, the saxophone continues to blow away formal musical boundaries. Last month New Orleans-born jazz saxophonist Bradford Marsalis—brother of Wynton Marsalis—released an album of classical favorites titled *Romances for Saxophone*. And Toronto recording artist Paul Brody, who has elevated classical music to the international stage, was scheduled to play a concert series in Israel this week. A decade ago, the World Saxophone Quartet, along with a group called Sopranus, originated the idea of six ensembles in jazz. Now, Oliver Lake, a member of the Quartet, has breached out into reggae and rhythms and blues with a band called Jugg Up.

Although black Americans were the first to discover the saxophone's soul, the instrument's future may lie closer to Africa. The sax plays a leading role in much of the new African pop—notably the protest music of Nigeria's revolutionary *Eko*. It can convey seafaring extremes of tenderness and rage. As Lake pointed out, "One reason for its popularity is that it can imitate the human voice so well." Urgent and intense, sultry and sexy, the sax is still blowing the winds of change.

BRIAN D. JOHNSON/Toronto

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ADVERTISING

King-sized ad agencies

When the giant U.S. advertising agency MEC International Inc. merged with two other New York-based firms in April, company officials proclaimed that they were second for the largest ad agency in the world. But that didn't last long. The title was short-lived. Less than three weeks later Saatchi & Saatchi of Lon-

don made more money than the worldwide giants who have many contracts. Shrinking profit margins have also fueled the merger trend.

In response to the profit squeeze, Saatchi & Saatchi and such rivals as MEC have sought to maintain profits by increasing their volume of business through expansion. But consolidations



Charles and Maurice Saatchi merge, world-wide firms, conflicts of interest

don't overlook money by buying \$60 million for the third-largest U.S. ad agency—New York-based Ted Bates Worldwide Inc. Now, the two brothers who started the huge new conglomerate offer clients the services of 2,000 employees in 38 countries—including Canada. Maurice Saatchi, 39, and Charles, 42, have stated off ambitious goals: eventually, they say, they want to handle up to 10 per cent of world advertising spending—a total estimated at \$25 billion in 1985.

The Saatchis' ascent has raised a number of interest issues as major firms merge, often who are bitter rivals, often find themselves sharing the same firm.

When the Bates agency joined the Saatchi & Saatchi empire, the action led to the loss of a 50-year-old Canadian contract selling toothpaste and soap products for Colgate-Palmolive of New York. Colgate was unwilling to continue working with a firm affiliated with Saatchi—which works for its archrival Procter & Gamble of Cincinnati, Ohio. Instead, Colgate will divide a yearly contract worth \$15 million between two smaller agencies—a development that encourages executives to wisdom. Eric Miller, president of one such firm, Seattle-based Miller Myers Bruce DeltaCast, Harold Myrin, says he is optimistic about coexistence with the giants. Declared Miller: "The managers block us from global business because we cannot take it on, but we may get greater domestic business as a result." Clearly, despite their size, the new firms have not eliminated competition. □

21 of my favourite things.

Two weeks in Nassau.
Old TV westerns.
Lilac chicken wings.
Lisa's backubs
Lisa's foottrubs
Weekends.
Windsurfing.

Ranbara's
Home-made birthday cards.
Reading the newspaper while
Soaking in the tub.
String in deep, deep pools.
My one great essay from university.
A Scandistud. VCRs.
Time shifting with my VCR.
Lisa's crazy hairstyle.
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21. The Casual Cream.

The politics of a prison

Prime Minister Brian Mulroney stood in a high school auditorium one year ago and pledged to strengthen the economy of a depressed community 300 km east of Quebec City. To that end, he ordered the construction of a new \$100-million prison. For the \$100 million at Port-Cartier, the announcement was the last heaving gasp of a dying town. Recession has closed its cellulose plant in 2005, leaving development virtually arrested in the town losing half of its population. And critics suggested that the contract was an investment on a pledge made by Mulroney during the 1984 federal election campaign to pay close attention to developments in his Maritimes riding. But last January civil rights activists, criminologists, sociologists and doctors from 19 organizations formed a coalition to oppose the proposed prison location. Said Dr. Denis Courville, a psychiatrist at Montreal's Royal Victoria Hospital: "When people need care, you don't isolate them from the people who can provide it. This isolation will be a punishment in itself."



Courtesy photo for Standard Press

The protestation caused parliamentary scheduled to open in September, 1988, will house 300 child monitors, guards, informers and convicted police officers. They constitute a group which usually requires protection from other inmates. Coalition spokesmen say that sending such inmates to Quebec's North Shore will make them less accessible to social workers and psychologists—most of whom are based in Montreal and Quebec City—and cut them off from their families. They also note that about 80 per cent of the convicts currently serving sentences in Laval Institution, a maximum-security penitentiary 100 km west of Montreal, come from the heavily populated Montreal-Quebec City corridor. Said Paul Williams, director of the John Howard Society of Quebec, a services organization for offenders and their families: "Building this prison is Port-Cartier sees a clear-cut political decision made without any respect to the inmates or their families. Nobody was consulted."

As well, ground-breaking ceremonies at the prison site in May coincided with plans to reduce the 12,000-member federal prison population. That may be advanced by granting parolees earlier automatic day passes after they have served one-third of their sentence, and other measures. Coalition representatives say that the Marquette project contradicts the proposed federal policy. But corrections officials say the new prison will be needed to replace the protective custody cells at the 118-year-old penitentiary near Montreal. And they note that it is not the first new prison to be built in a remote location. A federal prison in Borden, N.B., is at least 120 km northeast of Moncton.

Coalition spokesmen say that prisons build for mass market ignores crucial ties between inmates and their friends and relatives. For one thing,

friends and relatives from Montreal will have the chance of flying to Sept-Îles (the airport nearest the penitentiary) before embarking on a 64-km taxi ride—a round trip cost of \$80—or enduring a 16-hour, one-way bus ride from Montreal to Port-Cartier.

Bill, for residents of a town with a 30-per-cent unemployment rate, the prison project will create 700 construction jobs and 300 full-time positions as guards and clerks when the institution opens. Said Port-Cartier mayor Anthony Deltre: "It is comforting to know that present don't go bankrupt." But relatives remember say they will continue fighting. If Ottawa does not reverse its decision, they predict that the small town could well withdraw the economic benefits for Mulroney's constituents.

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FILMS: BRIEF ENCOUNTERS

THE KARATE KID, PART II

Directed By John Avildsen

It's a movie sequel, nothing succeeds like more of the same. Is *The Karate Kid, Part II*, the moviemakers and, less love, young romance, a second friendship and a dying father to the original formula of a hero competing against seemingly invincible odds. The first film ended as Daniel

never been attacked by tree?"

But *The Karate Kid, Part II* is more than a sequel with charm. Scenes of placid Okinawan evenings and a vibrant fighting style give it moments of visual magic. For suspense, there is a typhoon which levels the village just before the fight scene between Daniel and Sean's nephew. The everlasting emotions and cordial dramatics could prove irresistible to summer audiences. An enjoyable

rusty-haired monster named Louis and the troll-like Hoggs, who resemble Hitler's cronies in his previous feature film, *The Dark Crystal*. Coupled with unanticipated special effects, they have a potentially compelling tale that's an overproduced spectacle that will seem somehow drab.

Bowie, as the Goblin King, is meant to be very fit but in flight, he looks ungainly to look uncomfortable. While the movie tries to find its way to the exotic, he and his goblins interact with undistinguished magical numbers that are as out of place as a rock concert is a day care centre. They are one more sign that the makers of *Labyrinth* have lost their story is a sense of grand illusion.

—B.T.

MURDER 28 PEOPLE

Directed By Jim Abrahams, David Zucker and Jerry Zucker

Ken (Duke Bowden) and Sandy (Hilari Statler) are a pair of bagless kidnappers when they kidnap their victim, Barbara (Bette Midler), that her husband's indifference has driven them to lower her ransom. She screams: "I've been married down!" Their problem is that Barbara's husband is Ben (Danny DeVito), who married her for money, and is planning to kill her just hours before her abduction. Barbara's mother, Carol (Alec MacNiven), who is told to keep already dead the dead and make to blackmail him. In fact, undisciplined greed motivates almost everyone in the rambunctious comedy *Murder 28 People*. The exceptions are the kidnappers, who wish only to render Sandy's zany fashion designs from the effusives Sue, now a靡靡 mannequin manufacturer. Meanwhile, Barbara terrorizes her captors—practicing Ken to orgasm. "Gandhi would have strangled her."

The movie is alarmingly funny. Its directors, Jim Abrahams and David and Jerry Zucker (*Anchors*), give it the sharpshooter pace of a drunk chasing a dollar down a windy street. When the takes are turned on the oblivious Sue, the plot goes happily haywire. DeVito's performance is so infectious, pieces of comic adverbs whether crying or laughing, that he is a joy to watch. At the beginning Barbara, Midler's character, DeVito entry into the way. Seldens have given her face so much movement in being mean. Together they make *Murder 28 People* refreshingly irreducible.



Bowie: a spectral matador, singing gobbles and a girl lost in a dazzling maze

(Raquel Welch), trained by Mr. Miyagi, becomes an instant champion. The movie picks up six months later. Miyagi again plays by Miyagi (Pat) Marquez returns to his village in Okinawa, to be at his father's deathbed. The old man has been called back by Takeo (Nobu McCarthy)—who was once in love with him butestricted to his best friend, Sato (Dawson Kaneko). Although Miyagi emigrated, leaving her free to marry, Takeo chose to remain unwed. Old wounds resurface unleashed. Sato still seeks redress for his stained honor. Meanwhile, Daniel, who has accompanied Miyagi, falls in love with a village girl, Kamala (Janet Tandy).

Economically sentimental, the movie leaves its softness almost intact in terms. *SHL*, *The Karate Kid, Part II* is away be an effective as the original, due to the special relationship between teacher and student. The patient Miyagi, who refuses to meet his old rival Sato in a karate fight to the death, estimates Daniel further in martial arts techniques and spiritual maturity. Miyagi's dying words to Sato: "There is no good person," he advises Daniel, "no bad person." When Daniel asks if he can break a log with his hands, Miyagi calmly replies: "Don't know.

irresistible movies go. *The Karate Kid, Part II* joins few pretenders.

—LAWRENCE STONE

LABYRINTH

Directed By Jim Henson

The story on which the armchair of *Labyrinth* is based is a weird Freudian nightmare. Conceived by Canadian poet and children's writer Dennis Lee and Muppet master Jim Henson, it was turned into a screen play by former Monty Python member Terry Jones. A sultry adolescent girl, Sarah (Jennifer Connelly), left to babysit her screaming toddler brother, Toby (Dolan Fenzl), whilst the King of the Goblins would come and take her away. Her wish is granted; the spectral monarch (David Bowie) arrives to whisk Toby off to the Goblin Castle. To rescue him, Sarah must reach the castle through the daunting maze surrounding it. But Sarah still clings to her own childhood, and to strengthen her resolve she begins to believe that the labyrinth could have been a lot more afflicting if Gonzo possessed an ever-wildly cherishing sense presence. Still, some creatures are willing to befriend her, including a troll,

Staging tunes of glory

Grand opera crooned over its meager currency, this season—and landed in a new and various version of every, "The Merry Wives of Windsor," 16th-century Baghdad! The Canadian Opera Company (COC) and the father-son team of Edwin and David MacKay are staging a 25th-anniversary revival of the 1955 musical *Kismet* at the Metropolitan Royal Alexandra Theatre in Toronto. And in such barking musical concoctions as *And This Is My Beloved and Stranger*—based on melodies by 19th-century Russian composer Alexander Borodin—Kismet bares more than a few surprises.

MacKay's O'Keefe Centre last week with Verdi's *La Traviata*, but other repertoire included more than 34 million dollars worth of music. This year the company has added a new venue—the cosy and Tony Taverasian Opera Centre—which also provides storage facilities and a 450-seat theatre—with *The Beggar's Opera*. And plans proceed for a world-class ballet/opera house in Toronto. Millions of dollar savers were not in view when the COC became Canada's first professional opera troupe in 1958. Modest budgets and inexperienced performers slowed the company's rise to respectability in 1968. MacKay's described one offering as "a marriage of Mozart and the Marx Brothers." Then, in the 1970s a more sophisticated domestic version of the art began to take root. Between 1982 and 1987 the COC's box office returns quadrupled. By the early 1980s the company was attracting such international soloists as Joan Sutherland.

But the struggle to find an appropriate opera performance has continues. In the mid-New York's Metropolitan Opera Company performed annually in New York City's Lincoln Center. At present, the company can book the heavily used, 3,100-seat O'Keefe Centre for only 35 weeks a year. With a new hall, Mansouri can realize his goal of year-round opera in Toronto. Said Mansouri: "It's very dangerous for any arts organization to stand still. If you stagnate, you die."

Closely, North America's \$300-million-a-year opera industry is in subtle danger of stagnating.

Opera America, a service organization with more than 100 member companies in the United States and Canada, estimates that more than 40 per cent of those companies are less than 15 years old. Canadian opera enthusiasts are doing especially well. In Montreal, the 25-year-old Opéra de Montréal is increasing its number of productions to five dozen for the 1990-1991 season. In Winnipeg, the Manitoba Opera Association has had extra chairs to meet public demand this season for its production of *Madame*

of its poor eighties and now.

At a time of dwindling government support for the arts, Mansouri has helped convince federal and provincial governments of the need for a national, fully-staffed, full-time, full-fledged opera house. At present, the company can book the heavily used, 3,100-seat O'Keefe Centre for only 35 weeks a year. With a new hall, Mansouri can realize his goal of year-round opera in Toronto. Said Mansouri: "It's very dangerous for any arts organization to stand still. If you stagnate, you die."

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One of the COC's most dramatic initiatives was its invention and introduction of sortilégié in 1985. Performing the same drama as written by Molière, Schubert's *Perrin J* at the Tarrasheen. The company has also commissioned scores/composers Anne Martlette to write a children's opera to be performed there next May.

But Mansouri said the COC needs a new hall, and still doesn't have it. For the next four years at least, the COC must continue to

work all its major productions in the O'Keefe Centre. Some of the world's finest soloists—including Canadian-born artists Jon Vickers and Teresa Stratas—refuse to perform at the O'Keefe because of its acoustics. And the new hall may not be completed by the target date of 1990. Although Ontario's minority Liberal government says that it will honor a

promise

to

donate

government-owned land for the building, the opera house has ignited public concern that the financial burden on the city and the province caused by Toronto's proposed HSR railway project could put the entire ballet/opera project on hold.

The COC's position is straightforward: It needs a new performance hall, and it will have one. The company has a powerful asset in its board of directors. Presided over by National Victoria and Grey Troutso Chairman H.N.R. (Hal) Jackman, the board includes former federal politicians Alastair Gillespie and Paul Hellyer.

The board has a history of giving what it wants not only from governments but also from the public. Last year, aided by more than 500 volunteers, it raised more than \$15 million, surpassing all other arts fund raisers in Canada.

Such spectacular crowd-pleasers as *Kismet* may make it easier for the board to achieve its 1988-1989 funding goal of \$20 million. Although the COC's first priority is to make its house heard among the ranks of the world's great opera companies, it cannot afford to offer less than *Vivaldi* and *Fouquet*. Looking to the future, Mansouri settled, leaned back in his chair and said, "A rock 'n' roll opera would be fabulous."

—PAMELA YOUNG in Toronto

MACLEAN'S BEST-SELLER LIST

Fiction

- 1 A Perfect Spy, by Coover (1)
- 2 The Housekeeper, Ludwin (6)
- 3 Power of the Seed, Smith (6)
- 4 I'll Buy You, Marshall, Evans (6)
- 5 Last of the Breed, L'Amour (6)
- 6 Life Down Under, Pollett (6)
- 7 The Eighth Commandment, Sonder (9)
- 8 The Neustadt Reader, Asser (6)
- 9 The Household's Tale, Atwood (9)
- 10 Station Eight, Smith (6)

Nonfiction

- 1 Fatherhood, Cooley (1)
- 2 Fit for Life, Diamond and Freedman (3)
- 3 The Standoff Diet, Katsis (3)
- 4 100 Best Companies to Work for in Canada, Jones, Perry & Lyon (4)
- 5 Enter Talking, Rivers with Morgan (3)
- 6 Walks & Edwards Letters 1931-1937, edited by Stock (2)
- 7 Calamities, Pynchon with Eaton (5)
- 8 Going for It, Axon (5)
- 9 Overfired Kings, Graham (6)
- 10 Innovation, Foster (3)
- 11 Pioneers that



Judy Kaye as Kismet's Lalima. *Manon Lescaut*, *Le Cid*, *Die Walküre*, *Daphnis et Chloé*, *La Gioconda*.

of its poor eighties and now.

At a time of dwindling government support for the arts, Mansouri has helped convince federal and provincial governments of the need for a national, fully-staffed, full-time, full-fledged opera house. The company has a history of giving what it wants not only from governments but also from the public. Last year, aided by more than 500 volunteers, it raised more than \$15 million, surpassing all other arts fund raisers in Canada.

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—PAMELA YOUNG in Toronto

John Beardson (bottom) as Kismet's Halif al-Pooh: a gross note added to a bawdry year?

Photo: Alan Dyer

An obscure cast of candidates

By Allan Fetheringham

Nothings grows under the banyan tree. That's what they said in India when the great Nehru, their first prime minister, died and there was no one to replace him. On examination, it was found that all sensible successors had withered under his shade. The Liberal Party of Canada found the same shade, and rot within its structure when Pierre Trudeau finally walked away. It was the banyan tree effect. And now we have British Columbia, aka Bennett Columbia, offering yet another example of the strong man taking a walk, smirking behind his back at the party and confidants behind him as a rabble and mob of midgets attempt to fill his shoes. Allowing no one to get close to him or his office during his 12-year reign, Bill Bennett now watches while everyone except the office boy and the parrot are in a patch-up to succeed him.



CONTRIBUTED

ship convention sits at end of July the come and come. Whistler Mountain resort, hidden in the mountainous north of Vancouver at the end of a twenty and dreary road where in winter more than a few snow-shoed aborigines go to their reward, alludes to the fact that the road curves. Whistler is designed as the Canadian answer to the Colorado playground of Aspen, the sun, drugs and rock, to roll capital of the world. Twentieth-Century-You was given a \$2 million issue by the B.C. government to develop the great Whistler meadow in a valley of five lakes—Albas, Nita, Alice, Green and Lost—one of them connected to the aptly named River of Golden Dreams. Could you find a better setting for the inauguration of this craft?

There is such as John Reynolds, now a Soared headturner who was once nominated by a Mosdow's back page as the wortest member of Parliament of the decade, the columns being decorated with the memorable headline, "The

spies the idea and rock to banyan victory. Major Douglas actually served for a time in the 1950s as chief reconstruction adviser to the government of Alberta. Bringing us to the present day, the A+E Theorem is clearly at work in the party. Men Who Bennett is abandoning, dividing and multiplying the elements until it seems in line with the miracle of the leaves and the fishes. What went left has been divided into tiny pieces, so obscure as to drive a voting delegate wild.

Fitting in with the theme, the Soareds have chosen as their leader-

world of politics, one man stands head and shoulders above the rest." He once tried to succeed Robert Stanfield [a year before Stanfield stepped down] but failed early when the hoped-for lot of 1,000 at his fund-raising dinner shrank to 30. After Ottawa, he was a radio hot-liner (not's acronym in B.C.) and runs a restaurant, and now he wants to run the province God's tooth.

There is Bill Vander Zalm (White Woods Show, as he is known), with even lazier sideburns and greater amnesia than Reynolds, both being formidable accomplishments. He is the winos' lad who on the night of the Parti Québécois victory (the then of Her Majesty's RC cabinet) said it was a good thing because we wouldn't have to bother with French on the confederate boxes. He later called Brad Lévesque a "dog," has run for leadership of the B.C. Liberal party, mayor of Vancouver and most everything else.

A strong candidate is Human Resources Minister Jim Nielsen, who was recently in the headlines because, carrying with a wife not his own, was surprised by the lady's husband who promptly rearranged his face and then went on television, though a legal civil servant, to explain exactly how and why he had snatched the chag who at that moment contrived the largest amount of misery in the whole government.

There are four others called Smith, one of whom worked in Bennett's office and has never run for anything in his life, plus a millionaire, who used to be an Air Canada pilot whose family owns the Rogers Super Garage.

There is James G. Grace McClelland, whose official biography insists he is a former boxer, darling of every riding's Soared Women's Auxiliary, who worshipped W.A.C. Bennett and has since rebuilt the party, but lived a lonely life with his son and son-in-law. Whether the Vancouver Left wants a media event, they have welfare mamas stage a broad-and-grad banquet on the lawn of her Shaughnessy Heights house.

The boss of the banyan tree is se-

cretly seated at it all.



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